K. Jerome, Saint.

CERTAINE

SELECTED EPISTLES

OF

S. HIEROME

AS ALSO

THE LIVES OF

SAINT PAVL

THE FIRST HERMITE,

Of Saint HILARION the first Monke of Syria;
and of S. MALCHVS:

Written by the same Saint;

Translated into English.

Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXX.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

I Haue beene requeſted by a Friend, whome I know not how either to deny, or delay; that I would tranſlate ſome choyce Epiſtles, and the three liues of S. Paul *the Hermite,* S. Hilarion *the Monke, and* S. Malchus, *who was alſo a moſt holy man. They were written by that great famous Doctour* S. Hieronie, *and now here you haue them in our English tongue. I thinke I need not ſay (for they who will haue the wit to vnderſtand me, do already know) that if it were not for the ſeruice of God, and for that duty which a man owes his friends, he would take no great pleaſure in tranſlating the workes of ſuch perſons, as are extraordinary and eminent, both in knowledge, and in the expreſsion thereof. For when the conceptions are choice, & the power of ſpeech is great in any authour,*

BRITISH MUSEUM

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his translatour is likely enough to find his hands full of worke. S. Hierome is so well knowne, and so generally acknowledged, to haue beene rare in both these kindes whereof I spake, that I make account my pardon of course is already vnder Seale, though I may haue robbed the Saint of life in many of his passages; for I haue done it against my will, and as we vse to say, but in myne owne defence. As for any aduise which you may expect, you shall haue but this from me. If when you read these Epistles and Liues, you obserue any particulars which may eyther be beyond your beliefe in regard of the miracls which are recounted, or else besids your beliefe in respect that you haue been taught some doctrines otherwise; do but cast your mind vpon considering, that it is no lesse then S. Hierome who is speaking to you. Who liuing in the Primitiue Church, within foure hundred years after Christ our Lord, and hauing flourished with vncontrolled fame throughout the whole world, for incomparable sanctity and wisedome, and for learning also in all sciences, as well diuine, as humane; it is fit that you should deferre much to him, both in the beliefe of these miraculous thinges, and in the admirace also of these doctrins, which are so expressly insinuated by him to haue beene practised by the Catholicke Church of his tyme. I hope you will thinke so too: & in this hope I leaue you.

THE EPISTLE OF S. HIEROME TO RVFFINVS.

THOVGH I knew before by the testimony of holy Writ, that God bestowes more then is desired at his handes, yea & that he graunts such thinges, *as neyther the eye hath seene, nor the eare hath heard, nor haue ascended into the hart of Man*: yet now, most deare *Russinus*, I haue found by experience in myne owne person, that this is true. For I, who thought that my greatest ambition was sufficiently to be satisfyed, if we might counterfeit a kind of presence to one an other, by meanes of letters; do now vnderstād that you are entring deep into the most secret parts of Egypt, and that you are visiting the Quires of Monkes and making a kind of progresse, to see that heauenly family which liues on earth. O that our Lord Iesus, would now suddenly grant me such a kind of transport of my selfe, as *Philippe* made to the Eunuch, or of *Abacuke* to *Daniel*! How would I euen clasp in your necke with straight imbracements! How would I euen print a kisse vpon that mouth of yours, which either erred or was in the right, togeather with me: But because I lesse deserue to go so to you, then you do to come to me, and that this poore body of myne (which when it was at the best, is but weake) hath beene lately euen broken in pieces with continuall

nuall ſickneſse; I haue ſent this meſſenger of my mind to meet you, which tying you vp faſt in a knot of loue, may bring you hither to my ſelfe. The felicity of this vnexpected ioy, was brought me firſt by our brother *Heliodorus*. I belieued not that to be certaine, which I deſired it might be ſo; both becauſe he had it but by the relation of another, and eſpecially becauſe the ſtrangenes of the thing depriued me of power to giue it credit. But then (whileſt my mind was in ſuſpence through the vncertainty whether I ſhould haue my wiſh or no) a certaine Monke of *Alexandria*, who had beene ſent long before, through the pious deuotion of that people, to thoſe Confeſſours of *Egypt*, who already in their deſire were Martyrs, inclined me greatly to belieue it. Yet I confeſſe I was ſtill in a kind of wauering: though he being ignorant both of your coũtry and of your name, did euen thereby make the matter more probable; for that in other circumſtances he affirmed the ſelfe ſame thinges, which already had beene ſayd by an other. At length the truth broke out with a downe waight. For the frequent multitude of trauailers related to vs, both that *Ruffinus* had been at *Nitria*, and was paſſed on to the Bleſſed *Macharius*: and then I gaue full way to my beliefe, and then indeed I hartily grieued to ſee my ſelfe a ſicke man. And vnles my weaknes had beene ſuch, that after a ſort it tyed me vp in chaines; neither had the heat of the hoteſt part of Summer, nor the Sea which is neuer certaine to ſuch as ſaile, beene able to hinder me from going towards you, with a holy kind of haſt. Belieue me Brother, that the Sea-faring man, who is toſſed with tempeſt, doth not ſo earneſtly looke towardes his Port; nor do the thirſty fieldes ſo deſire ſhowers of rayne; nor doth the paſſionate Mother ſitting on the ſhoare, ſo expect the arriuall of her ſonne, as I doe to imbrace you. When that ſudden tempeſt ſnatched me away from your ſide; when that wicked ſeparation diſtracted me, who was cleauing to you with the faſt knot of Charity; then did the gloomy ſtorme hang ouer me; then did the ſky and ſea rage bitterly.

At length whileſt I was wandring in that vncertaine peregrination, when *Tracia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and the whole Iourney ouer *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and that Country of the

Celicians

Celicians had euen conſumed me with that ſcorching heat; the land of *Syria* occured to me, as a moſt ſafe and faythfull hauen after ſhipwrack. Where yet (hauing felt as many diſeaſes in my perſon as can be conceiued) of my two eyes I loſt one. For the ſudden fury of a burning feauer ſnatched away *Innocentius*, whom I accounted a part of my very hart. And now I only enioy *Euagrius*, who is the one and only eye which I haue left; to whoſe labours otherwiſe, my continuall infirmity may be accounted to ad a new heap of care. There was alſo with vs *Hylas* the ſeruant of holy *Melanius*, who by the purity of his conuerſation, hath waſhed away the ſpot of ſlauery to which he had been ſubiect; and his death did agayne open the wound which ſcarce was skined before. But becauſe we are forbidden by the Apoſtles commandement to be afflicted for ſuch as are departed; and to the end that the exceſſiue force of ſorrow may be tempered by the arriuall of a ioyfull newes, I alſo declare it to you, to the end that, if you know it not, you may know it, and that if you know it already, we may reioyce together at it.

Your *Bonoſus*, or rather myne, or (that I may ſay more truly) *Bonoſus* who belongs to vs both, is now climing vp that ladder, which *Iacob* ſaw in his ſleepe. He carryes his Croſſe, and neither is troubled with that which may ſucced, nor with that which is paſt. He ſowes in teares, that he may reape in ioy; and accord ng to the miſtery of *Moyſes*, *He hangs vp the ſerpent in the Deſert*. Let all thoſe falſe *Miracles*, which are founded in lyes, whether they be written either in the Greek or Latin tongue, giue place to this truth. For behould this young man, who was brought vp with me in the liberall arts of this world, who had plenty of eſtat & honour, amongſt the men of his owne rãcke; hauing contemned the delight and comfort of his mother, his ſiſters, and his brother, who was moſt dear to him, doth now inhabit a certaine Iland which is haũted by nothing but ſhipwracks, and a ſea roareing loud about it; (where the craggy rockes, and bare ſtones, and euen ſilence it ſelfe giues terrour) as if he were ſome new kind of Inhabitant of Paradice. There is no huſband man to be found, no Moncke, no nor yet doth that little *Oneſimus* (in whome you know he delighted dearely

as

as in a brother) afford him any society in this so vast solitude of his. There doth he all alone, (or rather not alone, but now accompanyed with Christ) behould the glory of God, which euen the Apostls could not see, but in the Desert. He lookes not indeed, vpon the towring Cittyes of this world; but he hath giuen vp his name in the numbring of the new Citty: his body is growne horrid with deformed sackcloath; but he will so, be the better able to meet Christ our Lord in the cloudes. It is true that he enioyes no delitious gardens there; but yet he drinkes of the very water of life, from the side of our Lord. Place him before your eyes, most dear friend, and let your whole mind, and cogitation, procure to make him present to you. Then may you celebrat his victory, when you haue considered the labour of his combat.

The mad Sea is roaring round about the whole Iland, and doth euen rebel againe, in regard it is broken backe, by those mountaines of wreathed rockes. The ground is not there adorned with grasse; and there are no fresh fields ouershadowed with delightfull groaues. These abrupt rude hills contriue the place into a kind of hideous prison; where he, all secure (as being without any feare, and armed by the Apostle from head to foot) is now hearkening to God, when he reades spirituall things, and then speaking to God when he is praying to him; and perhaps also he hath some vision after the example of *Iohn*, whilest he is dwelling in the Iland. What plots can you thinke the Diuell to be deuising now? What snares can you conceaue that he will be laying? Will he perhaps (being mindfull of his ancient fraude) giue him a temptation by hunger? But already he hath his answere, *Man liues not by bread alone*. Will he perhaps offer wealth or glory? But then he shall be tould, *That such as desire to be rich, fall into temptations and traps.* And; *All my glory is in Christ*. Will he take aduantage of his body, which is weakned by fasting, and which may be assalted by some disease; but he shall be beaten backe by this saying of the Apostle: *When I am weake, then am I strong*; and *strength is perfected in weaknes*. Will he threaten death? but he shall heare *Bonosus* say: *I desire to be dissolued and to be with Christ* Will he cast fyery, darts at him? *Bonosus* will receiue them vpon *the target of*

fayth.

fayth. And that I may proceed no further, Satan will impugne him; but Chriſt will defend him.

Thankes be to the, O Lord *Ieſus*, that I haue one in thy preſence, who may pray to the for me. Thou knoweſt (for to the all our thoughtes are knowne, who ſearcheſt the ſecret of our harts, and who ſaweſt thy Prophet ſhut vp in the ſea, euen in the belly of that huge beaſt) how *Bonoſus* and I, grew vp together from our tender infancy, till we were in the flouriſhing prime of youth; and how the ſame boſome of our nurſes, & the ſame imbracements of our foſter-fathers did carry vs vp and downe the houſe. And how, after we had ſtudyed, neer to thoſe half barbarours bankes of the Rhine, we liued vpon the ſame food, and paſſed our time in the ſame houſe; and how I was the firſt of the two, who had a good deſire to ſerue thee. Remember I beſeech thee, how this great warryer of thyne, was once but a green ſouldier in my company. I haue the promiſe of thy Maieſty, *He who ſhall teach others, and not do thereafter, ſh all be accounted the leaſt in the kingdome of heauen*; *but he who ſhall both teach, and do, ſhall be called the greateſt in the kingdome of heauen*. Let him enioy the crowne of his vertue, and let him follow the lambe in his long whit robe, for the daily martyrdome which he vndergoes. *There are many manſions in the Fathers houſe*; and *one ſtarre differs in clarity from another*. Impart thou to me, that I may lift vp my head amongſt the feet of thy Saints; that when I may haue had a good deſire, and he may haue performed the good worke, thou mayeſt pardon me becauſe I was not able to fulfill it, and thou mayeſt giue the reward to him, which he deſerues. Perhaps I haue produced my ſpeech into a greater length, then the breuity of an Epiſtle would permit; and this is euer wont to happen, when I am to ſay any thing in praiſe of our *Bonoſus*. But (to the end I may returne to that, from which I had digreſſed) I beſeech you, that together with your ſight, your mind may not conſent to looſe a friend; who is long ſought, rarely found, & hardly kept. Let any man ſhine neuer ſo brightly in gold, and let his glittering plate be muſtered out in as great pompe as pleaſeth him; charity cannot be bought, nor can there be any price ſet vpon loue. That friedſhip which can euer fayle, was neuer true. Farewell in Chriſt.

Saint Hierome to Aſella.

IF I would imagine my ſelfe able to giue you ſuch thankes as you deſerue, I ſhould be deceiued. God is able to repay that to your holy ſoule, which you haue merited at my hands; but I, vnworthy man could neuer conceiue, or euen deſire that you ſhould impart ſo great affectiō to me in Chriſt. And though ſome hold me to be wicked, and euen ouerwhelmed with crimes (and conſidering my ſinnes towards God, euen theſe croſſes are too light;) yet you do wel, in that, meaſuring others by you ſelfe, you eſteem euen ſuch to be good, as indeed are wicked. For a dangerous thing it is, to pronounce iudgment vpon the ſeruant of another: and it is not eaſily pardoned, if a man ſpeake ill of good men. The day will come, when together with my ſelfe, you will lament to ſee, that ſo many are tormented in fire. I muſt be a ſlaunderous perſon, I falſe and laſciuious, I a lyer, and a deceiuer by diabolicall art. But whether is it ſafer to haue deuiſed ſuch things as theſe of innocent perſons, or not ſo much as to haue belieued them, of ſuch as are guilty? They were dayly kiſſing my hands; & yet, with teeth of vipers, were detracting from me: with their tongues they wery ſory; but in their harts they reioyced. Our Lord ſaw it and ſcorned them for it, and reſerued mee his poore miſerable ſeruant, to be hereafter iudged together with them. One man calumniated my gat and laughter; another detracted from me by occaſion of my countenance; another ſuſpected ſome what by my playnenes. I remayned with them vpon the point of three years; I was often euen enuironed by a whole troupe of virgins; I expounded holy Scriptures to many, the beſt I could. This exerciſe bred frequence of conuerſation, conuerſation familiarity, and familiarity confidence. But yet, let thē ſay what other thing they euer found in me, then might become a Chriſtian? did I euer take any of their moneyes? did I not deſpiſe al Preſents, whether they were great, or ſmal? Was any of their mettall euer found to gingle in my hand? Was my ſpeech indirect, or myne eye wanton? No other thing is obiected.

ted to me but my Sexe, & euen not ſo much as this was e-
r obiected, but onely when *Paula* and *Melania* tooke their
urney to *Ieruſalem*.

Theſe men belieue the ſlaunderer, when he tels the lye;
ut why do they not belieue him, when he denyes it? He is the
lfe ſame man, he was. He now auowes me to be innocent,
hom formerly he made guilty; and ſurely torments do rather
xact the confeſſion of a truth, then good fellowſhip, & ſport;
auing that men vſe more eaſily to belieue that, which being
ayned, is gladly heard, or rather which is procured to be fay-
ned. Before I was acquainted with the houſe of holy *Paula*, the
ffections of the whole Citty fell vpon me, and I was almoſt
enerally eſteemed worthy of the higheſt place of Prieſthood.
Damaſus of Bleſſed memory ſpake of no body but me. I was ſayd
o be holy, I was ſayd to be humble, and eloquent. Did I en-
er into the houſe of any one who was counted immodeſt? Did
ay cloathes, or bright gemmes, or paynted faces, or the ambi-
ious deſire of gold, carry me away? Was there no other Ma-
ron in all *Rome*, who could tame this vnruly mind of myne, but
ne who was all lamenting, and faſting, and neglecting her
elfe euen to extremity, and who was almoſt blind with teares,
nd who imploring the mercy of God all night long, was often
aken in the manner by the next dayes ſunne? Whoſe ſonges
were the pſalmes, whoſe diſcourſe was of the Ghoſpel, whoſe
elights were Chaſtity, and whoſe life was a continuall Faſt?
Could no other creature pleaſe me, but ſhe whom I did neuer
o much as ſee at meat. But as ſoon as I began to eſteem, to ho-
nour, and to reuerence her, for the merit of her chaſtity, I was
nſtantly depriued of all vertue. O enuy which firſt doeſt euer
eed vpon thy ſelfe! O craft of Satan, which euer is perſecuting
holy things! There were no other which made talke to the
whole Citty of *Rome*, but *Paula*, and *Melania*; who contem-
ning their fortunes, and forſaking all that which might chal-
lenge loue at their hands, did exalt the Croſſe of our Lord, as
he enſigne of piety.

If they had frequented the Bathes, if they had made vſe of
oyntments, if they had wedded riches and widowhood toge-
her, as the matter both of laſciuiouſnes & liberty, they might

ſtill haue bene called great Ladies, and Saints; but now, they being in ſackloath and aſhes, will needs haue the reputation of beauty, and deſcend into hel fyer, with faſting and vtter neglect of themſelues; belike, becauſe it was not lawfull for them to periſh in company, with applauſe of the people.

If they were Pagans who carped at this kind of life, or yet if they were Iewes, we ſhould haue ſome comfort in not pleaſing them, who are diſpleaſed with *Chriſt*. But now (O infamous crime!) ſome who carry the name of Chriſtiãs, laying aſide all care of their owne houſes, and neglecting the beame in their owne eyes, looke for motes in the eyes of others. With their teeth they teare the holy vowe of chaſtity; and eſteeme it to be a remedy for their owne fault, if there be not a Saint in the world, if all men be ſubiect to their detraction, if there be a multitude of ſuch as ſinne, and a troupe of ſuch as periſh.

Thou takeſt pleaſure to bathe daily; another houlds ſuch kind of cleanlines to be meer filth. Thou feedeſt vpõ pheaſants, till thou doeſt euen regorge againe, & thinkeſt thy ſelfe a great man, when thou haſt eaten vp ſome dainty foule; but I ſtuffe my body with beanes. Thou art delighted in great companies of people, who laugh loud; and I take guſt in *Paula*, and *Melania* mourning. Thou coueteſt the goods of others; theſe contemne their owne. Thou art pleaſed with drinking wine dreſſed with honey; & they find more ſauour in cold water. Thou accounteſt thy ſelfe to looſe whatſoeuer thou poſſeſſeſt not, thou eateſt not, thou deuoureſt not, for the preſent; but they deſire future things, and belieue that to be true which is written. Say they do it fooliſhly & idly, as belieuing the reſurrectiõ of bodies; what haſt thou to do with that? for to vs, on the other ſide is thy life deſpleaſant. Much good may it do thee with thy fatnes; but I had rather be leane and pale. Thou holdeſt ſuch people to be miſerable; and we eſteem thee to be ſo much more. We are euen with one another, and either of vs thinkes his fellow mad.

Theſe words my Lady *Aſella*, did I write to you in great haſt, both with greif & teares, euen when I was taking ſhip; and I giue thankes to my God, for being thought worthy by him, that the world ſhould hate me. But do you pray, that I

may

may retorne to *Ieruſalem* out of *Babylon*, that *Nabuchodonozor* may not gouerne me, but *Ieſus* the ſome of *Ioſedech*. Let *Eſdras* come, and carry me back into my country. Foole that I was, who would needs be ſinging the cãticle of our Lord, in a ſtrãg land; and forſaking Mount *Sina*, would needs craue ſuccour of *Ægypt*. But I remembred not the Ghoſpell: becauſe he who went out of *Ieruſalem*, fell inſtantly into the hand of theeues, and was ſtripped and wounded, and almoſt ſlayne. But though the Prieſt, and Leuite deſpiſed him; yet that Samaritan is merciſull. To whom when it was ſayd, *That he was a Samaritan, and that he had a deuill*, he denyed not himſelfe to be a Samaritan: becauſe looke what a Guardian or keeper is with vs, that is a *Samaritan* in the Hebrew tongue. Some there are who baſely giue me out to be a Witch. I who am no better them a ſeruant, am content to weare this badge of my fayth; for the Iewes cald my Lord, Magitian. The Apoſtle was alſo ſayd to be a ſeducer. Let no temptation light on me other then humane How ſmall a part of affliction haue I endured, who yet ſerue vnder the enſigne of the Croſſe? They haue layd the infamy of falſe crimes vpon me; but I know that a man may get to heauen, both with a good name and a bad. Salut *Paula* and *Euſtochium*, who are myne in *Chriſt*, whether the world will or no. Salut our mother *Albina*, and our ſiſter *Marcella*, as alſo *Marcellina*, and holy *Felicitas*. And tell them, that one day we all ſhall ſtand before the Tribunall of *Chriſt*, and there will it appeare what our intentions haue been here. Remember me, O you excellent patterne of chaſtity, and modeſty, and appeaſe the Sea waues, by you prayers.

To Marcella in praiſe of Aſella.

LET no man reprehend me, in that I either praiſe or reproue ſome in my Epiſtles: ſince by reprouing ſome wicked men, others of the ſame kind are taxed thereby; and by celebrating the praiſes of the beſt, the affections of ſuch as be good, are ſtirred vp to vertue. Some three dayes ſince, I ſaid ſomewhat of *Lea* of bleſſed memory, and ſtraight I found my ſelfe

moued, and my mind gaue me, that I was not to be silent, of a Virgin; since I had spoken of one, who was but in the second degree of chastity. I will therefore briefly declare the life of *Asella*, to whom yet I will pray you not to reade this Epistle; for she is troubled with hearing her owne praises; but rather vouchsafe to reade it to some others of the younger sort, that so addressing thēselues according to her exāple, they may know they haue a conuersation to imitat, which carryes in it the very rule of a perfect life. I omit to say, that before she was borne, shé had a blessing in her mothers wombe; and that the virgin was shewed to her father, as he was taking his rest, in a viol of cristall, and more pure then any looking glasse: That being, yet, as it were in the cradle of her infancy, and scarce exceeding the tenth yeare of her age, she was consecrated to the honour of her future happines. But let all this be ascribed to grace, which did preced any labour of hers: though God, who foreknowes future things, did both sanctify *Ieremy* in the womb, and made *Iohn* exult in his mothers bowels, and seperated *Paul* for the Ghospell of his sonne, before the creation of the world. But I come to those things, which after the twelfth year of her age she chose, she apprehended, she held fast, she began, & she perfected by her owne great labour.

Being shut vp within the straightes of one little Cell, she enioyed the large liberty of a paradice. The same spot of groūd was the place both of her prayer, and of her sleepe. Fasting was but a sport with her, and hunger was her food. And when not the desire of feeding, but the necessity of nature would draw her to eat, she would, by the taking of bread and salt and cold water, rather stirre vp hunger, then take it downe. And I had almost forgotten that which I should haue said before; whē she first resolued to enter vpon this kind of life, she tooke that ornament of gold which is vsually called a lampry (becaus the mettal being wrought into certaine wyers a chaine is made in such a wreathing forme) and sould it, without the knowledge of her parents. And hauing so procured and bought a courser coat, then she was able to obtayn of her mother, she did suddenly, by that pious and fortunate begining of her spirituall negotiation, consecrat her selfe to our Lord, in such sort,

that

that al her kinred might quickly know, that no change of mind could be exorted from her, who by her cloathes had already renounced the world. But as I was begining to say, she euer carryed her selfe with such reseruation, and so contained she her selfe within the priuate limits of her owne lodging, as that she would neuer put her selfe in publicke, nor know what belonged to the conuersation of any man. And, which yet is more to be admired, she did more willingly loue then see euen her owne sister, though she were also a virgin. Somewhat she would worke with her owne handes, as knowing that it is written; *They who will not labour, let them not eat*. She would euer be speaking to her *Spouse*, either in the way of praying, or singing. To the *Shrines of Martyrs*, she would make such hast, that she would scarce be seen. And as she would be euer glad, for that she had vndertaken this course of life, so would she more vehemently exult in that she was vnknowne to all the world. Throughout the whole yeare, she would be fed with a continuall kind of fast, eating nothing till after two or three dayes. But then in Lent, she would hoise vp the sayles of her ship, and with a cheerfull countenaunce, would knit one weeke to another, by one onely meale. And (which perhaps will seeme impossible to be belieued, though by the fauour of God it be possible) she is now arriued in such sort to the fiftieth yeare of her age, as that she hath no payne in her stomacke, & no torment in her bowels. Her lying vpon the ground, hath not wasted any of her limmes; her skinne growne rugged with her sackcloath, hath contracted no ill condition, or offensiue smell; but being healthfull in body, and yet more healthfull in mind, she holdes her retiredne to be deliciousnes, and in a swelling and tempestuous towne, she finds a wildernes of Moncks. But these things you know better then I, from whom I haue learned some particulars, & whose eyes, haue seen, that the knees of her holy body haue the hardnes of a camels skinne, through her frequent vse of prayer. As for me, I declare that which I haue bene able to know. There is nothing more pleasing then her seuerity; nothing more sad then her sweetnes; nor more sweet, then her sadnes. So is palenes in her face, as that it discouers her abstinence, but yet yeeldes no ayre of ostentation

tion. Her ſpeech is ſilent, and her ſilence full of ſpeech. Her pace is nether ſuift, nor ſlow. He countenance is ſtill the ſame. A careles cleanlynes, and an incurious cloathing; and her dreſſing is, to be without being dreſſed. And by the onely temper of her life, ſhe hath deſerued, that in a Citty full of pompe, of laſciuiouſnes, and of delicacy, wherein humility is a miſery, both they who are good proclaime her, and the wicked dare not detract from her. Let widowes and virgins imitate her, let marryed woemẽ reuerence her, let ſuch as are faulty feare her, and let Prieſts looke with much reſpect vpon her.

Saint Hierome to Marcella, by occaſion of the ſicknes and true conuerſion of Bleſilla.

ABRAHAM was tempted concerning his ſonne, and was found ſo much the more faithfull: *Ioſeph* was ſould into *Ægypt*, that he might feed his Father and his brethren: *Ezechias* was frighted by the ſight of death at hand, that ſo pouring himſelfe forth in teares, his life might be prolonged for fifteen years: The Apoſtle *Peter* was ſhaken in the Paſſion of our Lord, that weeping bitterly he might heare thoſe wordes, *Feed my sheepe*: *Paul*, that rauening wolfe, and who withall grew to be a ſecond *Beniamin*, was blinded in an extaſis, that ſo he might ſe afterwards; & being compaſſed in by a ſudden horrour of darkenes, he called vpon God, whom he had perſecuted long as man. And ſo now, O *Marcella*, we haue ſeem our *Bleſilla* boyle vp for the ſpace of almoſt thirty dayes in a burning feauer, to the end that ſhe might know, that the *Regalo* of that body, was to be reiected, which ſoon after was to be fed vpon by worms, Our Lord *Ieſus* came alſo to her, and touched her hand, and behould ſhe riſes vp, and doth him ſeruice. She had ſome little tincture of negligence, & being tyed vp in the ſwathing bãds of riches, ſhe lay dead in the ſepulchre of this world. But *Ieſus* groaned deepely, and cryed out in ſpirit ſaying, *Come forth Bleſilla*. As ſoon as ſhe was called ſhe roſe, and being come forth, ſhe eates with our Lord. Let the Iewes threaten and ſwel, let them ſeeke to kill her, who is raiſed vp to life, and let the Apoſtle

poſtles onely reioyce at it. She knowes that ſhe owes him her life, who reſtored it to her. She knowes that ſhe now imbraces his feet, of whoſe iudgment ſhe formerly was affrayd. Her body lay euen almoſt without life, and approaching death did euen shake her panting limmes. Where were then the ſuccours of her friends? Where were thoſe words which vſe to be more vayne, then any ſmoke? She owes nothing to thee, O vngrateſull kinred of fleſh and blood; ſhe who is dead to the world, & who is reuiued to Chriſt. Let him who is a Chriſtiã reioyce, and he who is offended at this, declares himſelfe not to be a Chriſtian. The widow, who is free from the tye of marriage, hath no more to do, but to perſeuer. But you will ſay, that ſome will be ſcandalized at her browne coat. Let them he ſcãdalized alſo at *Iohn*, thẽ whome there was none greater amõgſt the ſonnes of men, who being called an Angel, baptized our Lord himſelfe, and was clad with a camels skinne, and was girt in, by a girdle of haire. If meane fare diſpleaſe them, there is nothing meaner then locuſts. Nay let Chriſtian eyes be ſcãdalized rather at theſe woemen, who paint themſelues with red, and whoſe plaſtered faces being deformed euen with extreme whitenes, make them like Idolls: from whome if before they be aware, any drop of teares breake out, it makes a furrow in their cheeks: whome euen the number of their years cannot teach them how old they are; for they ſtrew their crowne with ſtrange haire, and they dreſſe vp their paſt youth in wrinckles of their preſent age; and in fine, though they trẽble with being ſo old, yet in preſence of whole troupes of their grand-children, they will ſtill be tricked vp, like delicate and tender maides. Let a Chriſtian woman be aſhamed, if ſhe would compell Nature to make her handſome, *if ſhe fullfill the care of her fleſh towardes concupiſcence: for they who reſt in that, cannot pleaſe Chriſt*, as the Apoſtle ſayth. Our widow formerly would be dreſſing her ſelfe with a ſtiffe kind of care, & would be inqniring all day long of the glaſſe, what it might be that ſhe wanted. And now ſhe confidently ſayth: *But all we, contemplating the glory of our Lord with a cleare face, are transformed into the ſame image, from glory to glory, as by the ſpirit of our Lord*. Then did her maides marſhall her haire in order, and the crowne of her

head, which had made no fault, was impriſoned by certaine Coronets, criſped with irons. But now her head is ſo much neglected, as to know that it carryes inough, if it be but vayled. In thoſe dayes, the very ſoftnes of downe would ſeeme hard, and ſhe would ſcarce be content to ly in beds when they were euen built vp to giue her eaſe; but now ſhe ryſes vp full of haſt to pray, and with her ſhrill voice ſnatching the *Allelluia* out of the others mouthes, her ſelfe is the firſt to prayſe her Lord. Her knees are bent vpon the bare ground, and that face which formerly had beene defiled and daub'd with painting, is now often waſhed with teares. After prayers they rattle out the Pſalmes, and her very necke, her weake hammes, and her eyes pointing towardes ſleep, can hardly yet (through the exceſſiue ardour of her mind) obtaine leaue that they may take reſt. Her browne coat is leaſt fowled, when ſhe lyes vpon the ground. She is poorely ſhod, and the price of her former guilded ſhooes, is now beſtowed vpon the poore. Her girdle is not now diſtinguiſhed by ſtuddes of gold and precious ſtone; but it is of woll, & as ſimple & poore as can be made, & ſuch as indeed may rather tye in her cloathes, then gird her body. If the ſerpent enuy this purpoſe of hers, and with faire ſpeech perſwade her to eat againe of the forbidden Tree; let him be ſtricken with an *Anathema*; & let it be ſayd to him, as he is dying in his owne duſt: *Goe backe Sathan*, which by interpretation is *aduerſary*. For an *aduerſary* he is of Chriſt, and he is an Antichriſt, who is diſpleaſed with the Precepts of Chriſt. Tell me, I pray you, what ſuch thing euer did we, as the Apoſtles did; vnder the colour whereof men ſhould be ſcandalized at vs? They forſooke an old Father, *and their nets and ships*. The Publican ryſes from the cuſtome-houſe, and followes our Sauiour; & one of the Diſciples being deſirous to returne home, and declare his purpoſe to his friends, is forbidden by the commandment of his Maſter. Euen buriall not giuen to one by his Father; and it is a kind of piety to want ſuch piety, for the loue of our Lord. Becauſe we weare no ſilke, we are eſteemed to be Monkes; becauſe we will not be drunke, nor diſſolue our ſelues in loud laughter, we are called ſeuer and ſad people. If our coat be not faire and white, we are preſently encountred with

with the by-word of being *Impoſtours* and *Greekes*. Let them ſlander vs with more ſly cunning if they will, and carry vp & downe their fat-backes with their full panches. Our *Bleſilla* ſhall laugh at them, nor will ſhe be ſory to heare the reproaches of theſe croaking frogs, when her Lord himſelfe was called *Belzebub*.

Saint Hierome to Pope Damaſus.

BECAVSE the Eaſtern part of the world being battered by the auncient fury of that people, doth teare euen into fitars the ſeameles coat of our Lord, which is wouen from the top to the bottome: and ſince the foxes do root vp the vine of Chriſt; ſo that in the mideſt of thoſe leaking lakes, which hold no water, it is hard to find where that ſealed fountaine, & that ſhut garden is; therefore haue I thought fit to conſult with the chayre of *Peter*, and that fayth which was prayſed by the Apoſtles mouth, demãding food from thence for my ſoule, where formerly I had taken the baptiſmal habit of Chriſt. For neither could the vaſtity of that watry element, nor the interpoſition of thoſe long tracts of earth, prohibit me frõ inquiring after that precious pearle, *Whereſoeuer the body is, thither will the Eagles reſort*. The patrimony hauing beene waſted by the prodigal ſon, the inheritance of the Father is only preſerued incorrupt by you. There doth the earth which is a fruitfull ſoyle, returne our Lords ſeed with purity, & that a hundred fould; but here the corne being ouerwrought by the furrow, degenerates into cockle and wild oates. Now doth the Sunne of iuſtice ryſe vp in the Weſt, and that *Luciſer* who is fallen, doth place his throne aboue the ſtarres in the Eaſt: *You are the light of the world; you, the ſalt of the earth; you, the golden and ſiluer veſſells*, and here the veſſels are of earth, or wood, which do but expect the iron rod, and eternall fire. Therefore though your greatnes fright me, yet doth your humanity inuit me. I deſire a ſacrifice of ſaluation from the Prieſt, and the ſuccour which belongs to a ſheep from his paſtour. Let Enuy auoyd, let the Ambition of that high Roman ſeat recede, I am ſpeaking with the ſucceſſor of a Fiſherman, and a diſciple of the Croſſe. I, who in the firſt

place follow none but Christ, am ioyned by communion to your *Beatitude*, that is, to the chayre of *Peter*. *Vpon that rocke doe I know that the Church is built*. *Whosoeuer eateth the Lambe out of this house, is a profane person*. *Whosoeuer is not in the Arke of Noe, shall perish, when the flood growes to be in height*. And because, for my grieuous sinnes, I haue betaken my selfe to that desert, which deuides *Syria* from the barbarous confines on the other side, nor can I alwayes be crauing the *Holy of our Lord* from your Sanctity, being so hugely distant from you in place: therfore here do I follow the Confessours of *Egypt* your colleagues and like some poore barke, I lye vnder the lee of those great shippes. I know not *Vitalis*, I reiect *Meletius*, I haue nothing to do with *Paulinus*: *Whosoeuer doth not gather with you, scatters*, that is to say, *he who is not of Christ, is of Antichrist*. But now (O excessiue cause of griefe!) after the *Nicen fayth*, after the decree of *Alexandria* against three *Hypostasies*, wherein the Westerne Church did also ioyne, there is a new name exacted of me, being a man of *Rome*, by the Prelate of the *Arians*, and the *Campensians*. What Apostles I pray you were they, who declared this? What new Maister of the *Gentiles*, which was *Paul*, taught this? Let vs enquire what they may be thought to vnderstād, by three *Hypostasies* They say, they do but meane *three subsisting persons*. We answere that we also belieue iust so. The sense will not serue their turne, but they must haue the very name, because I know not what poison lyeth hid in the sillables of those wordes. And we cry out, that if any man will not confesse *three Hypostasies*, or *Enypostata*, that is, *three subsisting persons*, let him be accursed. And because we do not learne words, we are iudged to be Heretikes. But if any man vnderstanding *Hypostasis* to be *Vsia* or *Substance*, shall say that there is any more then one *Hypostasis* in three persons, he is an aliene from Christ; and vnder this confession we are marked togeather with you, by the burning iron of the same cōmuniō. Determine therfore, if it please you; I will not feare to say there are three *Hypostasis* if you bid me. But yet if you bid me, then let a new fayth be found out, different from that of *Nice*, and let vs, who are Orthodoxall, confesse our Fayth in such wordes, as the *Arians* vse. All the schooles of learning know no other signification

of

of *Hypostasis*, but *Substance*. And now who is he, who with a sacrilegious mouth, will speake of three *Substances in God*?

The nature of God is *one*, and only *one*, and it is most truly so; for that which subsists of it selfe, hath not his being from any other, but it is his owne. Other thinges which are created though they may seeme to be, yet indeed they are not; for sometymes they were not, and that may againe not be, which once was not: God only who is eternall, that is, who hath no beginning, doth properly enioy the name of *Essence*. And therfore he sayd thus out of the bush to *Moyses: I am he that I am*. And againe: *He that is sent me*. It is true that then, there were Angels, Heauen, Earth, and Sea: and how then can God challenge the name of *Essence* as proper to himselfe, which is common to others? But because that only Nature is perfect, & one Deity doth subsist in three persons, which truly is, and *is one Nature*; whosoeuer he be, that will say they are three, namely three *Hypostasies*, that is, three *Substances*, doth endeauour vnder a colour of piety, to affirme that God hath three *Natures*. And if that be so, why are we separated by Church-walls frō *Arius*, who are vnited to him in false beliefe? let then *Vrsicinus* be ioyned to your Holynes, and let *Auxentius* keep society with *Ambrose*. Let this be farre from the *Roman fayth*, let not the harts of Religious people sucke in so great a sacriledge as this. Let it suffice for vs to affirme *one substance*, and *three subsisting persons*, perfect, equall, and coeternall. Let there be, if it please you, no more talke of three *Hypostasies*, but let vs sticke to one: It is suspitious when words are differing, the sense being the same. Let the aforesayd beliefe suffice for vs; or if you thinke it fit, that we speake of three *Hypostasies* with their interpretations, we will not refuse to do it. But belieue me, there lyes poyson vnder the hony, and Sathan hath transfigured himselfe into an Angell of light. They interpret the word *Hypostasis* well, and yet when I professe my selfe to belieue it as they expound it, I am held an Heretike for my labour. But why do they hold fast that one word with such anxiety? Why ly they hid vnder that ambiguous manner of speech? If they belieue it as they expound it, I do not condemne that which they imbrace. If I belieue so as they pretend themselues to hold, let them giue me

leaue to expresse myne owne sense, in myne owne wordes. And therefore I beseech your Holynesse by Christ crucifyed, by the saluation of the world, by the selfe-substantiall Trinity, that by your letters you will giue me authority, either to reiect or to vse the name of seuerall *Hypostasies*. And least the retyrednes of this place where I liue, should disappoint you, vouchsafe to send to me by the letter-carryers, & direct yours for me to *Euagrius* the Priest, whome you know well; and signify to me withall, with whome you would haue me keep communion at *Antioche*. For the *Campensians* being coupled with the Heretikes of *Tharsis*, affect nothing els, but that being vpheld by the authority of communicating with you, they may publish three *Hypostasies*, in the auncient sense.

Saint Hierome to Pope Damasus.

THE importunate woman in the Ghospell, deserued to be heard at last. And one friend obtained bread of another, though himselfe and his seruants had shut vp their doores, and though it were midnight. God himselfe whome no power can ouercome, was conquered by the prayers of a Publican. The citty of *Niniue* which was to perish by sinne, stood on foot by tears. But why do I fetch the matter vp so high? To the end that you being great, may looke on me who am little; that you being a rich shepheard, may not contemne me, who am a sicke weake sheep. Christ conducted the murdering Theef from the crosse into Paradise: and least any man should thinke that this conuersion was too late, he made that punishment of his murder, to be a Martyrdome to him. Christ, I say, doth ioyfully imbrace the prodigall Sonne, when he returnes; and leauing ninety nine sheep, that single poore one which remayned, is brought home vpō the shoulder of the good shepheard. *Paul* of a persecuter is made a preacher; his carnall eyes are blinded, that he may see the better with his mind; & he who carryed the seruants of *Christ* bound before the Counsell of the Iews, did glory afterward, to see himselfe in bonds for *Christ*. I therfore, who as I wrote before, receiued the garment of *Christ* in the Citty o

Rome

Rome, do now remayne in the barbarous confines of *Syria*. And leaſt you ſhould thinke, that I do it in obedience to the ſentēce of ſome other, myſelfe was obliged by my ſelfe, to vnderge this taske, which I had deſerued. But as the heathen Poets ſay, *he changes the Clyme not his mind, who paſſes ouer the Seas*. So hath my inceſſant enemy followed me, as that now I endure greater aſſalts in the wildernes. For here, the rage of the *Arians* being vpheld by the pillars of the world, doth rage. Here, doth the Church, deuided into three parts, vſe al diligence to draw me to it; the auncient authority of the troupes of Monkes which are round about me, riſes vp againſt me. But I, in the meane time cry out, that if any man be in coniunction with the chaire of *Peter*, that man is myne: *Meletius*, *Vitalis*, and *Paulinus* ſay that they adhere to you. I might belieue it, if onely any one of them did affirme it; but now, either all of them lye, or two at leaſt. Therefore I beſeech your *Holynes*, by the Croſſe our Lord, by the glory of the world which was crucified, & by the Paſſion of Chriſt, that as you follow the Apoſtls in honour, ſo yow wil follow them alſo in merit. So may you ſit in that Throne, to iudge with thoſe twelue; ſo may there be another, who may gird you, like *Peter*, when you are old; ſo may you become a Citizen of heauen with *Paul*; as you ſhal ſignify to me by your letters, with whome I ought to communicate in *Syria*. Do not deſpiſe that ſoule, for which *Chriſt* dyed.

Saint Hierome to a Mother and a daughter, by way of caution againſt keeping ill company.

A Certaine Brother coming out of Frāce relates to me, that he hath a Siſter, who is a virgin, and a Mother who is a widow, and that they liue in ſeuerall habitations, and yet in the ſame Citty; & that, either becauſe their dwellings are ſolitary, or els for the conſeruing of their little meanes, they had ſeuerally taken certaine Prieſts, to gouerne them; ſo that they were ioyned to others, with leſſe reputation, thē they had bene ſeperated between themſelues. And (when I had ſighed deeply, and ſignifyed much more by ſilence, then I could haue done

done by ſpeech,) I beſeech you ſaith he, reproue them by your letters, and draw them backe to good agreement, that the mother may acknowledge the daughter, & the daughter the mother. I aſwered him thus; you put me indeed to a faire taske; that I being a ſtranger ſhould reconcile them, when a ſonne and a brother could not do it. As if I ſat in ſome Epiſcopall chaire, and were not ſhut vp in a little Cell; and being farre remote from troups of men, do not either lament my ſins paſt, or procure to auoid ſuch as are at hand: beſides the ill fauouredneſs of it for a man to he hid in body, and to wander ouer the whole world, with his tongue. Then ſayd he, you are to fearfull. And where is now that courage, wherewith you haue ſo wittily touched the whole world, for you haue bene a kind of *Lucilius*. This, ſaid I, is that which puts me of, and ſuffers me not ſo much as to opē my mouth. For ſince by reprouing the faults of others, my ſelfe am growne faulty, and according to the vulgar ſaying, *VVhen euery man doth ſo wrangle, and contradict me, me thinkes I do neither heare nor touch*, and euen the very wals beat reproaches backe vpon me, & drinkers of wine make ſonges of me, I being conſtrayned by ſad experience, haue learned to hold my peace, eſteeming it better *to place a guard before my mouth, & a ſtrong doore before my lippes, then that my hart ſhould decline towards the wordes of malice* for feare leaſt whileſt I taxe vice in others my ſelfe ſhould fall into the vice of detraction. When I had ſaid thus much, he anſwered me after this manner. To ſay truth, is not to detract; nor doth a priuate reprehenſion amount to make a generall doctrine; ſince they are few, or none who fal within the compaſſe of that fault. I beſech you therefore not to permit me to be come in vayne, who haue bene vexed by ſo long a iourney. For our Lord knowes, that next after my viſiting theſe holy places, my chief occaſion was, that by meanes of your letters, I might cure both my Siſter and my mother. Well then ſaid I, I am content to do as you bid me; for both my letters ſerue for the other ſide of the Sea, & that ſpeech which is dictated vpon ſo particular an occaſion as this, will hardly find any other whom it may offend. But as for you, I beſeech you that the matter may be carryed with great ſecret, that when you ſhall haue taken it with you by way of prouiſion

ſon, if my aduice be harkened to, we may reioyce together; but if it be contemned (which I rather feare) yet I may haue loſt but my words, and you the labour of a long Iourney.

Firſt O you mother and daughter, I deſire you may know, that I write not therfore to you, as ſuſpecting any thing ill of you; but I deſire your agreement, leaſt others ſhould grow to haue ſuſpition. For otherwiſe, if I thought you had bene ioyned together by any tye of ſinne, (which God forbid,) I ſhould neuer haue written, as knowing that I were talking to deafe perſons. In the ſecond place, I would deſire, that if I ſhal write any thing which may be of the ſharper ſort, you will not chinke it to ſauour ſo much of my auſtere condition, as of the diſeaſe in hand. Rotten fleſh muſt be cured with a burning iron, and the poyſon of ſerpents, driuen away with an Antidot. And that which giueth much payne, muſt be expelled by a greater. In the laſt place this I ſay, that although the conſcience may haue no wound in it of any crime, yet fame ſuffers ignominy thereby. Mother and daughter are names of a Religious kind of tendernes, they are wordes of obſeruance, they are bondes of nature, and they are of the higheſt leagues vnder God. It deſerues no prayſe if you loue; but it is extreme wickednes, if you hate one another. Our Lord *Ieſus Chriſt* was ſubiect to his parents, he carryed veneration to his Mother, whoſe very Father he was. He was obſeruant of his foſter-father, whom yet himſelfe had nouriſhed; and he remembred that he had beene carryed in the wombe of the one, and in the armes of the other. Whereupon, when he was hanging on the Croſſe, he commẽded his Mother to his Diſciple, and he neuer forſooke that mother till his death.

But you O daughter (for now I forbeare to ſpeake to the mother, whome perhaps either age, or weaknes, or deſire of ſolitude may make excuſable) you, I ſay, O Daughter, can you hold her houſe too ſtraight. You liued ten monethes ſhut vp in her wombe, & can you not endure to liue one day with her in one chamber? Are you not able to like, that ſhe ſhould haue an eye vpon you? and doe you fly from ſuch a domeſticall witneſſe as ſhe is, who knowes euery motion of your hart; as ſhe who bare you, who brought you vp, and lead you on to be

of this age. If you be a Virgin, why miſlike you to be diligently kept? If you be defiled, why doe you not marry in the ſight of the world? This is the ſecond planche, or table, after ſhipwracke; let that which you haue ill begun, at leaſt be tempered by this remedy. But yet neither do I ſay thus much, to the end that after ſinne I may take away the vſe of Pennance, or that ſhe who hath begun ill, may perſeuer to do ill; but becauſe I deſpaire of any ſeparation, after ſuch coniunction. For otherwiſe, if you go to your mother, after you ſhall haue beene ſubiect to that ruine, you may in her preſence, more eaſily lament your ſelfe for that which you loſt by being abſent from her. If yet you be entire, and haue not loſt it, take care to keep it. To what purpoſe are you now in that houſe, where it will be neceſſary for you, either to periſh, or to fight continually, that you may ouercome? What creature did euer ſleep ſecurely neere a Viper, who though ſhe do not bite, yet ſhe will keep him awake? It is a point of more ſafety not to be in danger of periſhing, then being in danger not to periſh. In the one there is tranquility, in the other there muſt be labour and skill: in the former we ioy; and in the later we do but eſcape. But perhaps you will anſwere: *My mother is of a harſh condition, ſhe deſires worldly things, ſhe loues riches, ſhe knowes not what belonges to faſting, ſhe paintes her eyebrowes blacke, ſhe takes care to be curiouſly dreſſed, and hinders my purpoſe of chaſtity, and I cannot liue with ſuch an one.* But firſt, if ſhe were ſuch as you pretend, you ſhould haue the greater merit, if you forſook not ſuch an one as ſhe. She carryed you long in her wombe, ſhe nurſed you long, & with a tender kind of ſweetnes did endure the vntowardnes of your infancy. She waſhed your fowle cloutes, and was often defiled with your filth. She ſate by you when your were ſicke; and did not only endure her owne incommodities, but yours alſo. She brought you to this age, and ſhe taught you how to loue Chriſt our Lord. Let not her conuerſation diſpleaſe you, who firſt did conſecrate you, as a Virgin, to your ſpouſe.

But yet, if you cannot endure her, but will needs fly away from her delicacies, and if (as we vſe to ſay) ſhe be a kind of ſeculer mother; in that caſe you may haue other Virgins, you will not want ſome holy quiet, where chaſtity is kept. Why, forſa-

forſaking your Mother, haue you taken a liking to one, who perhaps hath alſo forſaken his Mother, and his Siſter? She is of a hard condition: but this man forſooth, is ſweet & kind. She is a chider, but he is therefore eaſily appeaſed. I aske whether you followed this man at the firſt; or whether you found him afterward? For if you followed him at the firſt; the reaſon is plaine, why you forſooke your mother. If you found him afterward; you ſhew plainly what it was, which you could not find in your Mothers houſe.

This is a sharp kind of griefe for me, which woundes me with myne owne ſword. He who walkes ſimply or plainly, walkes bouldly. I would faine hold my peace, if myne owne conſcience did not giue remorce; and if now I did not reprehend myne owne fault, in the perſon of another, and if by the beame of myne owne eye, I ſaw not the mote which is in anothers. Bu now, ſince I am farre off among my brethren, and whileſt, ẽioying their ſociety, I live honeſtly vnder witneſſes of my conuerſation, and I ſee, and am ſeene very ſeldome, it is a moſt impudent thing, if you will not follow his modeſty, whoſe example you haue followed otherwiſe. Now if you ſay: *Myne owne conſcience is ſufficient for me, I haue God for my iudge, who is the witneſſe of my life; I care not for the talke of men.* Heare what the Apoſtle writes: *Prouiding to do good thin es not only before God, but alſo before all men.* If any man will detr & from you, in regard that you are a Chriſtian, or that you are a Virgin, let it not trouble you, though you haue forſaken your Mother, to the end that you may liue in ſome Monaſtery with Virgins. Such detraction will be a praiſe to you, as when ſeuerenes, and not too much looſenes is reproued in the Virgin of God. Such kind of cruelty is piety: for you preferre him before your Mother, whome you are commanded to preferre before your life it ſelf; and whome if ſhe will alſo preferre, ſhe will acknowledge you both to be her daughter, and her ſiſter.

But what, is it ſuch a crime to liue in ſociety with a Holy man? You make a wry necke, and now you draw me into a kind of quarell: and ſo, as that either I muſt allow the thing which I like not; or vndergo the enuy of many. A holy man doth neuer ſeuer the daughter from the Mother; he reſpects them

them both, he carryes veneration to them both. Though the daughter be holy; yet if the Mother be a widow, she giues a good testimony of chastity. If that man of whome you know, be of equall age to your selfe, let him honour your Mother as his owne. If he be elder then you, let him loue you as his daughter, and make you subiect to the discipline o a Father. It becomes not the fame of either of you, that he should loue you better then your mother; least it may seem, that he chooses not so much to loue you for other respects, as because you are younge. And all this I would say, if you had not a brother o your owne, who is a Monke, or if you wanted other domesticall helpes. But now (O excessiue cause of griefe!) betweene a Mother, and a brother, a mother who is a widow, and a brother who is a Monke, how comes it to passe, that a stranger interposes himselfe? It were good for you, that you knew your selfe both to be a daughter, and a sister: but if you cannot do both, at least let your brother please you; and if your brother be ill conditioned, she will be gentler, who bare you. Why do you waxe pale? Why are you so much troubled? Why do you now grow to blush; and by your trembling lippes, declare the impatience of your hart? There is no loue, but only that of a wife, which outstrips the loue of a mother, and of a brother. I heare besides that you are walking vp and downe by houses in the country, & such other places of delight, with your Allies and kindred, and such kind of people as that; nor do I doubt, but that it is some Cosen or Sister, for whose solace you are lead about like a Page after this new cut. For God forbid, that I should suspect you to affect the conuersation of men, howsoeur they may be neer you, either in Neighbourhood, or blood.

I beseech you therefore, O Virgin, to answere me. Do you walke in this company of your friendes, either with your louer or without him? Without faile, how impudent soeuer you may be, you dare not produce him, before the eyes of secular persons. For if you should doe thus, all the neighbours would make songes both of him, & you; nay the world would point at you both, by signes. Yea that very Sister, or Ally, or kinswoman, who to flatter you will often mention him in your

presence,

preſence, as if they held him for a Saint; when they ſhall find themſelues out of your ſight, will ſcoffe at ſuch a prodigious kind of husband. But now if you go alone (which I rather thinke) amongſt that younger ſort of ſeruants, among woemen who either are marryed, or to be marryed, among thoſe wanton maides, and thoſe ſpruſe and well apparelled young men; if I ſay, you goe like a maid in meane apparell, euery young beardles fellow, will be reaching forth his hand towards you, and will be ſupporting you when you are weary, & then ſtraining his fingers, he will either tempt you, or be tempted by you. You ſhall be at ſome banquet among men, and matrons; you ſhall ſee them kiſſe, and taſt their meat, to one another; & not without danger to your ſelfe, you ſhall admire the ſilke, & cloath of gold which others were. In the banquet, you ſhall alſo be compelled as it were, againſt your will, to eat fleſh. To the end that you may be drawne to drinke wine, they will be prayſing it, as a creature of God. That you may be induced to frequent bathes, they wil ſpeake againſt being vncleanly. And whenſoeuer you ſhall do any of thoſe things, which they perſwade you to, with any kind of vnwillingnes, they will publiſh you with a full mouth to be pure, and ſimple, a great Lady, and an ingenuous creature. The while, ſome man ſhalbe ſinging to you, when you are at table, and whileſt he is running ouer his ditty with ſweet diuiſion, he wil be often caſting an eye towards you who haue no guardian, not daring to look vpon mens wiues. He will ſpeake to you by geſture, and that which he dares not expreſſe by wordes, he will by ſignes. Among ſo many ſhrewd incitements to pleaſure, euen mindes as hard as iron are made ſoft towards luſt; which moues with greater appetite in Virgins, who thinke that to be ſweeteſt, which they know not. The fables of Heathen Poets relate, that Mariners are driuen headlong vpon rockes by the ſinging of *Syrens*; and that trees and beaſts were inchanted, and euen hard flintes made to yeeld, vpon the hearing of *Orpheus* harpe. Virginity is hardly kept, at feaſting tables. A ſmooth skinne, ſhewes a ſordid mind. We haue read whileſt we were boyes at Schoole, & we haue ſeene the ſtory grauen in braſſe, ſo wel that it ſeemed euen to breath with life, of one who had no-

thing vpon him but skine and bone, and yet being fired with vnlawfull loue, that plague did no sooner leaue him, then his life. And what then will become of you, O mayd, who are healthfull, delicate, fat, high complexioned, boyling vp in meate, in wine, in bathes, amongst marryed woemen, and young men? who though you should not doe that which will be desired of you, may yet hold it to be an vgly kind of euidence against your selfe, euen that you are desired. A lustfull mind doth very eagerly hunt after dishonest thinges, and for the very reason of being vnlawfull, it is suspected to be the more delightfull. Euen a poore and blacke vest, if it be drawne close, and haue no wrinkles in it, is an argument of a consenting will; and if it be worne so long, as to be drawne after vp on the ground, that she may seeme the taller; and if the coat be left vnstitched of purpose, that somewhat may appeare, and if any thing which is ill fauoured must be concealed, and that which is handsome be discloſed. The buskin also of her that walkes, if it be daintily shining and blacke, serues for a call to young men, by the noise thereof. The little brests are prest with strippes, and the wast is straitned with a wretched girdle. The haire of the head fals downe either vpon the forehead, or about the eares. The little cloake fals off sometymes, that she may shew her naked shoulders, and instantly she maks haste to hid them, as if she would not haue that seene, which yet she willingly discouered. And when going in publick, she hids her very face with a pretence of modesty, she only shewes that after the manner of the Stewes, which being shewed may delight the more.

But you will answere me thus, and say: How come you to know me so well? And how, being seated so farre of, doe you come to cast your eyes on me? The teares of your Brother, & those intolerable deep sighes, which euery minute he was sending forth, haue declared thus much. And I wish he had rather fayned it, & had spoken more out of feare, then knowledge. But beleiue me, a man lyes not, when he weepes. He grieues that a yong man is preferred by you before himselfe, yea and he, no delicate creature, nor one who treates himselfe neatly; but a brawny fellow, who is but a slouen with all his

delicacy,

delicacy, and who ſhuts the purſe, and holdes the worke with his owne handes, and diſtributs the taskes, and gouernes the family, & buyes all thinges neceſſary in the market. He is the ſteward, and the Lord; and yet he preuents the inferiour ſeruants in their Offices: at whome the whole houſe rayles exclaming againſt him as detayning all that, which the Lady doth not allow & giue. Theſe ſeruants are a complaining kind of people, and how much ſoeuer you affoard, it is ſtill too little with them. For they conſider not out of what meanes, but how much is giuen them, and they comfort themſelues the beſt they they can, in all their griefe, by deeraction only. One cals him a Paraſite, another an Impoſtour, a third an Vnderminer of the eſtate, and a fourth will find ſome new name for him. They ſay he ſits at her beds ſide, that he fetches midwiues, when ſhe is ſicke, that he reaches her the baſon, warmes her cloathes, and foulds her ſwathing bandes. Men are apt to beliene the worſt, and whatſoeuer is deuiſed at home, turnes a broad into common fame. Nor muſt you wonder, if your maids and men giue out theſe thinges of you; when euen your mother and your Brother make the ſame complaint. Do therefore this, which I aduiſe and euen begge of you: be firſt reconciled to your Mother; and if that be not poſſible, to your Brother at leaſt; or if yet you will needes implacably deteſt theſe names of ſo great dearnes, at leaſt deuide your ſelfe from him, whome you are ſayd to haue preferred before them. If you cannot doe euen thus much, yet reſpect the honour of your friends, and if you cannot forſake your companion, yet make more honeſt vſe of him. Keep ſeuerall houſes, and doe not eat at the ſame table; leaſt men of ill tongues proone to ſlaūder you with ſaying, that you lye both in one bed, when they ſee that you liue both in a houſe. You may, for your neceſſary occaſions, take what kind of ſolace you will, and yet want ſome part of this publicke infamy. Though yet you had need take hoed, of that other ſpot, which according to the Prophet *Ieremy*, is not to be removed by any *Niter*, nor by any *Diers* herbe.

When you haue a mind, that he ſhould ſee and viſit you, let it be in the preſence of witneſſes, friends, free ſeruantes, ſlaues. A good conſcience feares the eyes of none. Be without

feare

feare when he comes in, and ſecure when he goes out. Euen ſtill eyes, ſilent ſpeech, and the habit of the whole body, doth ſometymes diſcouer, either ſecurity or feare. I beſeech you open your eares, & hearken to the clamour of the whole City.

You haue loſt your owne names, and now you are called by the names of one another; for you are ſaid to be his, and he yours. Theſe thinges do your Mother and your Brother heare of you; and they are ready to receaue you, and beſeech you to deuid your ſelues betweene them two, that ſo this particular infamy of your coniunction, may redound to the prayſe of all. Be you with your Mother, and let him be with your Brother. More ſafely may you loue the companion of your Brother, & more honeſtly may your Mother loue the friend of her ſonne then of her daughter?

But if you will come to no reaſon, if you will needes contemne my counſell with a frowning brow, this letter shal proclaime theſe thinges to you with a loud voice. Why doe you thus beſiege the ſeruantes of another? Why make you him, who is the ſeruant of Chriſt, to be a houſhould-ſeruant of yours? Looke vpon the people, and behould the faces of euery one. He reads in the Church, and all men caſt their eyes on you; fauing that you do euen glory in your infamy, as if you had the priuiledge of marryed people. Nor are you any longer now content with ſecret infamy. You call ſaucy bouldnes by the name of liberty; you are growne to haue the face of an Harlot, and you know not how to bluſh. Againe you will be calling me maligne, againe ſuſpitious, and a liſtner and publisher of tales. Am I ſuſpitious? am I malitiouſly diſpoſed? who as I tould you in the beginning of this Epiſtle, did therefore write, becauſe I did not ſuſpect. But it is you who are negligent, diſſolute, and who deſpiſe counſelle, and who being fiue and twenty yeares ould, haue taken a young fellow with little haire vpon his face; and you haue wrapt him vp in your armes, as if it were in netts. A rare inſtructer indeed, who may admoniſh and fright you, euen with the ſeuerity of his countenance. And though in no age one be ſafe from luſt, yet when the head is gray, a body is defended from publicke infamy. The day will come, it will come (for tyme ſlides away whileſt

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you thinke not of it) when this dapper deare man of yours (because woemen grow quickly old, and especially such as liue in company with men) will find either a richer, or a younger then you. Then will you repent your selfe of this course, and you will be weary of your obstinacy; when you shall haue lost both your goods, and fame; and when that which was ill ioyned, shall be well deuided. Vnles perhaps you be secure, that your loue getting the growth of so long tyme, you shall need to feare no separation.

And you also, O Mother, who by reason of your age wil be afrayd of no malediction, yet be not you so bould as to sin. Let your daughter rather be separated from you, then you be seuered from her. You haue a sonne, and a daughter, and a sonne in law, yea and also a companion in house for your daughter. Why do you go in quest after forraine comforts, and stirre vp that fire which now lyes vnder ashes? At least it is more handsome for you to beare with the fault of your daughter, then to seeke any occasion through committing faults your selfe. Let your sonne, who is a Monke be with you, as the stay of your widowhood, and the entertainement of your tender loue. Why doe you seeke out a stranger, especially to be in that house, which is not able to hold your sonne, and daughter in it? You are now of such age, as that you may haue grand-children by your daughter. Inuite them both to you, and let her returne to you in company of her man, who went out alone. I sayd her man, not her husband. Let no man slaunder me, I meant but to expresse the sexe; not the state of mariage. Or if she blush, and shrinke, and conceaue that the house wherein she was borne, is growne too little for her house; go you to her house, though it be strait, it will more easily be able to receaue a Mother and a Brother, then a stranger, whith whome she cannot certainly remaine chast in one house, vnlesse she haue another chamber. Let there be in one habitation, two woemen & two men. But if that third party, that dry nurse of your old age, will not be gone, but will needs make a stirre and disquiet the house, let the Cart be drawne by two, or els let it be drawne by three, your brother, and your sonne, and at least you shall thus allow your sonne both a sister and a Mother. O-

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And you also, O Mother, who by reason of your age wil be afrayd of no malediction, yet be not you so hould as to sin. Let your daughter rather be separated from you, then you be seuered from her. You haue a sonne, and a daughter, and a sonne in law, yea and also a companion in house for your daughter. Why do you go in quest after forraine comforts, and stirre vp that fire which now lyes vnder ashes? At least it is more handsome for you to beare with the fault of your daughter, then to seeke any occasion through committing faults your selfe. Let your sonne, who is a Monke be with you, as the stay of your widowhood, and the entertainement of your tender loue. Why doe you seeke out a stranger, especially to be in that house, which is not able to hold your sonne, and daughter in it? You are now of such age, as that you may haue grand-children by your daughter. Inuite them both to you, and let her returne to you in company of her man, who went out alone. I sayd her man, not her husband. Let no man slaunder me, I meant but to expresse the sexe; not the state of mariage. Or if she blush, and shrinke, and conceaue that the house wherein she was borne, is growne too little for her house; go you to her house, though it be strait, it will more easily be able to receaue a Mother and a Brother, then a stranger, whith whome she cannot certainly remaine chast in one house, vnlesse she haue another chamber. Let there be in one habitation, two woemen & two men. But if that third party, that dry nurse of your old age, will not be gone, but will needs make a stirre and disquiet the house, let the Cart be drawne by two, or els let it be drawne by three, your brother, and your sonne, and at least you shall thus allow your sonne both a sister and a Mother. O-

thers will call theſe new commers, a ſonne in law & a Father in law; but your ſonne may call them a foſter-father & a Brother.

I haue dictated this with ſpeed, at a ſhort ſitting vp, being deſirous to ſatisfy the entreaty of him who ſought it, & by way of exerciſing my ſelfe, after a ſcholaſtical māner. For he knocked at my doore the ſame day in the morning, when he was to take his iourney: and I did it alſo to let my detracters ſee, that I alſo can vtter whatſoeuer comes into my mouth. For which reaſon I haue taken little out of Scripture, nor haue I wouén my diſcourſe with the flowers thereof, as I vſe to do in my other workes. I dictated it *ex tempore*, & it flowed from me by the light of my little lampe, with ſo great facility, that my tongue outſtript the hand of the writers, and ſo as that the volubility of my ſpeech, did euen ouerwhelme the letters which ſtole the words out of my mouth. This I haue ſayd, to the end that he, who will not pardon my little wit, may excuſe me in reſpect of my little tyme.

Saint Hierome to Ruſticus the Monke, to whome he preſcribes a forme of liuing.

NOTHING is more happy then a Chriſtian, to whom the kingdome of heauen is promiſed. Nothing is more laborious, then he who is daily in hazard of his life. Nothing is more ſtrong, then he who ouercomes the diuell; & nothing is more weake, then he who is ouercome by the fleſh. We haue very many examples, on both ſides. The theefe beliéues vpon the Croſſe, and inſtantly deſerues to heare; *Verely I ſay to thee, this day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe*. *Iudas*, from the high dignity of *Apoſtolate*, ſlips downe into the deep darke pit of deſtruction; and could not be drawen backe from betraying him, as a man, whom he knew to be the ſonne of God, either by the familiarity of eating at the ſame table, or by the dipping of that morſell of bread, or by the dearnes of the kiſſe, which was giuen him. What is meaner, then that *Samaritan* woman, and yet not onely did ſhe belieue, and after the hauing ſix husbands

found

found one Lord, and knew that Messias at the fountayne; whō the people of the Iewes knew not, in the Temple; but did also become the authour of saluatiō to many; & whilst the Apostles were buying meat, did refresh him who was hungry and sustayne him who was weary. Who was wiser then *Salomon*, & yet he was besotted by the loue of woemen? Salt is good, and no Sacrifice is receiued without the aspersion thereof. Whereupō the Apostle prescribes thus. Let your speech be euer seasoned in grace, with salt. If that be infatuated, it is cast forth, & so farre doth it loose the dignity of the name it had, that it is not of any vse, so much as to a dunghill; whereby yet when it is good, the feildes of belieuers are seasoned, and the barren soile of soules is made fruitfull.

These thinges I say, O my sonne *Rusticus*, to the end that at the first entrance, I may teach you, that you haue begun to do great things, & that your endeauours are high, and now that you haue troden vpon the *incentiues*, or temptations, of the sprouting and budding of youth, you must clyme vp to the steps of perfect age. But the way whereby you go is slippery, & you will not reape so much glory, by obtayning a victory, as ignominy, if you be ouercome. My busines must not be now to deriue the streame of my discourse, through the fieldes of the vertues; nor must I labour to shew you the beauty of seuerall flowers, and what purity the Lillyes haue, what a bashfullnes the Rose possesses, what the purple of Violets doth promise, in that kingdome; and what we may expect from the representation of those glittering gemmes. For already, by the fauour of God, you are holding the plough; Already you haue mounted vp the house with the Apostle *Peter*, who thirsting after the Iewes, was satisfyed by the fayth of *Cornelius*, & killed the hunger which was bred in him through their incredulity, by the conuersion of the Gentils; and by that foure cornered vessell of the Ghospels which came downe from heauen to earth, he was taught, and he learned that all kindes of men might be saued. And againe that, which he saw in the forme of a most pure white sheet, is carryed vp on high, and carryes vp also with it the troupe of belieuers from earth to heauen, that the promise of our Lord may be fullfilled. *Blessed are the*

pure of hart, for they shall see God.

All the matter which I desire to insinuate to you is, that I like an old sea man, being taught by having suffered many shipwrackes, taking you now by the hand, may guide you, who are but a new passenger. That is to say, that you may know, vpon what shoare the Pirate of chastity lyes; where the *Charybdis* of auarice is, that roor of al euill; where those barking Dogs of *Scylla* are, wherof the Apostle speakes thus: *Least biting one another, you be consumed by one another*; and how, when we thinke our selues safe in the midest of a calme, we are somtymes ouerwhelmed by the vnstable quicksandes of vice; & finally that I may declare to you, what venemous beasts are nourished in the desert of this world. They who saile in the red Sea (wherein it is to be wished by vs, that the true *Pharao* with his army may be drowned) must arrive through many difficulties, and dangers, at the great Citty. Both sides of the shoare are inhabited by wild; yea and they most cruell beastes. Men are there euer full of care, and being well armed, do also carry the prouision with them of a whole yeare. All places are full of hidden Rockes, and hard shallowes, in such sort that the skilfull Master must keep himselfe still vpon the top of the Mast, and from thence conuey his directions, how the ship is to be conducted, and steered. And it is a prosperous voyage, if after the labour of six moneths, they come to the port of that Citty, for the place where the Ocean begins to open it selfe, & and whereby a man doth scarce arriue at the *Indies* in a whole yeare, & to the riuer *Ganges*, which the Holy Ghost doth mention by the name of *Phison*, and which enuirons by the name of *Euelath*, and is sayd to produce many kindes of odoriferous spices out of that fountaine of Paradise, where the Carbuncle & the Emerand is gotten, and those other shining Gemmes, and those Orient pearles, towardes which the ambition of great Ladyes doth so much aspire, and those mountaines of gold, which it is impossible for men to approach, by reason of those Dragons, and other furious Beasts of monstrous bignes, that in stead we may see, what kind of guard, couetousnes hath gotten for it selfe.

But to what purpose doe I say all this? It is cleare, that if men

men, who negotiat the businesses of this world, do vndergo so great labour, that they may obtayne riches, which both are not certaine to be gotten, and are certaine either to leaue vs, or to be lost, and they are kept with hazard to the soule, and they are also sought through many dangers; what is that man to doe, who negotiates the affaires of Christ, & who selling al things, goes in purchase of that most precious pearle; and who, with the substance of his whole estate buyes a field, wherein he may find that treasure, which neither the picklocke can fingar, nor the violent theef carry away? I know I shall offend many, who will interprete my generall discourse against vice, to be a personall reproach to themselues. But in being angry with me, they declare what kind of conscience they haue, and they passe therby a worse iudgment vpon themselues, then vpon me. For I will name no man, nor (by that liberty which the ancient Comedians were wont to take) will I set forth, and sting any individuall person. It is the part of prudent men and women, to hide their disgust, or rather to amend that which they find to be amisse in themselues; and indeed rather to be offended with themselues, then me; and not to cast reproach vpon him, who giues them good counselle: who although he were subiect to the same crimes which possesse them, yet certenly he is the better, in that he is not pleased with vice.

I heare you haue a deuout woman to your Mother, a widow of great age, who kept and brought you vp from infancy, and that after you had passed your studies in *France* (which flourish greatly there) she sent you to *Rome*, not sparing to sped; and enduring the absence of her sonne, through the hope of future good, that so you might season the plenty, and elegancy of speech, which is gotten in *France*, by giuing it the graue maner of *Rome*; and how she did not vse the spurre towardes you, but the bridle; which we haue also read of the most eloquent men of *Greece*, who dryed vp that swelling *Asyatike* humour of speech, with the salt of *Athens*, & did cut off with the hooke those luxuriant tops of the vinet, that so the presses of eloquete might not be stuffed vp with the rancke leaues of wordes, but with solid matter and sense, as it were with the expression of the iuyce of the grape. See you reuerence her as your Mother;

loue her as your nurse, and exhibite veneration to her, as to a Saint. And do not imitate the example of others, who forsake their owne mothers, and desire to be with the mothers of other folkes, whose shame is publicke; since they seeke suspected cōuersations, when they haue cloaked them vnder the names of so pious affection. I know certaine woemen who are now of yeares ripe inough, who take pleasure in young men, who were bond-slaues freed, and who seeke spirituall children, & then shortly after (all modesty being destroyed in them) those fayned names of Sonne and Mother, haue broken out into the liberties of man and wife. Some others forsake their sisters when they are virgins, and adhere to widowes who are strangers. There are some who do euen hate their friends in blood, and are not taken by any naturall affection, whose impatience discouers of what mind they are; and so they are capable of no excuse, and they breake through all inclosures of modesty, as if they were but cobwebs. You shall see some man well girt, in a course russet coate, and with a long beard, and yet can neuer get himselfe out of the company of woemen, but he dwells with them in the same house, and eates at the same table, and is serued by young maides, and enioyes all that which belonges to mariage, sauing the only name. But it is not the fault of Christian profession, if an Hypocrite be to blame, but rather it is a confusion to the Gentils, when they see, that Christians are displeased with those thinges, which are vnpleasing to all good men.

But you, if you meane, not only to seeme to be a Monke, haue care, I say, not of your temporall estate (by the renunciation whereof you haue begun to be what now you are) but of your soule. Let your meane cloathes, be the *index* of a fayre mind in you. Let your course coate shew your contempt of the world; but so, as that your mind do not swell, and that your habite and your speech differ not from one an other. Let not him seeke the *regale* of Bathes, who desires to quench the heat of flesh and blood, by the coolenes of fasting. Which fasts must be also moderate, least being excessiue, they grow to weaken the stomacke; and so requiring a more liberall refection, they breake out into crudities, which are the breeders of lust. A sparing

ſparing, and temperate dyet is profitable both to body & ſoule. Looke ſo vpon your Mother, as that by occaſion thereof, you grow not to behould other woemen, whoſe countenance may ſticke cloſe to your hart; & ſo it may receaue an inward woũd. Make account that the maides who ſerue her, are ſo many ſnares which are layd for you, becauſe how much more their condition is meane, ſo much more eaſy is the miſchiefe. And *Iohn* the *Baptiſt* had a holy Mother, & he was the ſonne of a Biſhop, yet would he not be wonne, either by the loue of that Mother, or by the wealth of his Father, to liue in their houſe, to the danger of his Chaſtity. In the deſert he liued, & hauing eyes which deſired to behould Chriſt, he vouchſafed not to looke vpon any thing els. His garment was counſe, his girdle made of haire, his food locuſts and wild hony; all which did carry proportion to vertue and chaſtity. The ſonnes of the Prophets (whome we find in the old Teſtament to haue beene Monkes) did build themſelues little houſes neere the waters of *Iordan*, and forſaking the crowdes of Cittyes, did liue vpon meale, and wild herbes. As long as you are in your owne coũtry, haue you a cell which may be a paradiſe to you. Gather ſundry fruites of ſcripture, let thoſe be your delights, and let them enioy your imbracements. If your eye, your foot, or your hand endanger you, throw it away. Spare none, that you may be good to your owne ſoule: *He* (ſayth our Lord) *who lookes vpon a woman in the way of concupiſcence, hath already beene vncleane with her in his hart*. Who will vaſit himſelfe to haue a chaſt hart? The ſtarres are not cleane in the ſight of our Lord, and how much leſſe are men cleane, whoſe very life is a temptation? Woe be to vs, who as often as we haue impure deſires, ſo often do we commit fornication. *My ſword* (ſayth he) *is inebriated in heauen*; and much more on earth, which breedes thornes, and brambles. That *Veſſell of election*, whoſe mouth did ſound forth Chriſt, *doth macerate his body, and makes it ſubiect to ſeruitude*, and yet he findes, that the naturall heat of his fleſh, doth ſo reſiſt his mind, that he was forced to that, to which he had no mind; & to cry out, as ſuffering violence, and to ſay: *Miſerable man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me from the body of this death?* And doe you thinke that you can paſſe through, without any fall, or woũd,

vnles

vnles you keep your hart with a most straight custody, and vnlesse you say with our Sauiour: *My mother and my brethren, are they who do the will of my Father*. Such cruelty is piety. Or rather what can sauour of more piety, then that a holy Mother should keep her sonne holy? She also desires, that you may liue, and that she may not see you for a tyme, to the end that she may euer see you with Christ. *Anna* brought forth *Samuell*, not for her selfe, but for the Tabernacle. The sonnes of *Ionadab*, who drunke neither wine, nor any other thing which could inebriate, who dwelt in Tents, and had no other places to rest in, then where the night layd hold vpon them, are sayd in the Psalme to haue beene the first, who sustayned captiuity and were constrayned to enter into Cities by the Army of *Caldæans*, which ouerran *Iudea*. Let others consider what they will resolue, for euery man abounds in his owne sense. To me a towne it a prison, and a solitude is a Paradise. Why should we desire the frequent concourse of men in townes, who are already sayd to be single? *Moyses*, that he might gouerne the people of the Iewes, was instructed forty yeares in the Wildernes: from being a pastour of sheep, he grew to be a pastour of men. The Apostles from fishing the lake of *Genesereth*, passed on to fish for men. Hauing then their Father, their net, and their ship, they followed our Lord; they left all thinges outright, they daily carryed their crosse, without so much as a sticke in their handes. This I haue sayd, that if you be tickled with desire of being ordained Priest, you first may learne what you are to teach, and may offer a reasonable sacrifice to Christ, that you esteeme not your selfe to be an old souldier, before you haue first carryed armes, and that you be not sooner a Master, then a scholler.

It belonges not to my poorenes, and small capacity to iudge of Priests, or to speake any thing of ill odour, concerning such as minister to the Churches. Let them hold their degree and ranke, to which you also arriue; that booke which I wrot to *Nepotianus*, will be able to teach you how you are to liue therein. We do now but consider as it were the cradle and conditions of that Monke, who being instructed from his youth in liberal sciences, hath layd the yoke of Christ vpon his neck.

And

And first it is to be considered, whether you were best liue in the Monastery alone, or in the company of others. For my part, I shall like well that you haue the society of holy men: that you do not teach your selfe, nor eter vpon that way without a guide, which you neuer knew; for so you may decline either to one hand or other, and be subiect to errour: and that you may not walke either faster, or slower, then is fit; least either running, you be weary, or loytering you be sleepy. In solitude pride creeps on apace; and if a man grow to fast a little, and then see none but himselfe, he will thinke he is some body; and forgetting both whence, and to what end he came, his hart wanders within, and his tongue without: *He iudges the seruant of an other*, against the Apostles mind; he reaches forth his hand as farre as gluttony bids him; he sleepes as much as he will; he feares no man; he doth what he lists; he thinkes al men to be his inferiours; and is oftener in Citties, then in his Cell. And yet when he finds himself among others of his owne profession, he takes vpon him to be so maydenly, as if the crowd of the streetes pressed him to death. But what? Do we reprehend a solitary life? No, for we haue often praysed it. But we desire that such men may go out from the discipline of Monasteries, as the hard lessons of the wildernes may not fright, they who haue giuen a long allowable testimony of their conuesation, who made themselues the lowest and least of all, and so grew to be the greatest; who haue not beene vanquished eyther by eating, or abstayning; who reioyce in pouerty; whose habite, speech, countenance, gate, is the very doctrine of piety; who know not how, after the custome of some fond people, to deuise certaine phantasticall battailes of Diuells, as if they were fighting against them; that so they may grow to be woundred at, by the ignorant vulgar, and make some commodity thereby. We saw lately, and we lamented, that the goods of *Crœsus* were found vpon the death of a certen man, & that the almes of the Citty, which had beene gathered to the vse of the poore, was left by him to his posterity, and stocke. Then did the iron, which had lyen hide in the bottome, swimme vpon the top of the water; & the bitternes of Myrh was seene to be among the palmes. Nor is this strange: for he had such a com-

companion, and such a Master, as made his riches grow out of the hungar of poore men; and the almes which had beene left to miserable persons, he reserued for his owne misery. For at last, their cry reached to heauen, and did so ouercome the most patient eares of God, that an Angell *Nabal Carmelo* was sent, who sayd: *Thou foole this night shall they take thy soule from thee, & the goodes which thou hast prouided, whose shall they be?* I would not therefore, vpon the reasons which I haue declared already, that you should dwell with your Mother; & especially, least whē she offers you delicate fare, you should either make her sad by refusing it, or adde oyle to your owne fire, if you accept it. And least also, among those many woemen, you should see somewhat by day, which you might thinke vpon by night. Let your booke be neuer layd out of your handes, and from vnder your eyes. Learne the Psalter, word for word. Pray without intermission; haue a watchfull mind, and such a one as may not lye open to vaine thoughts. Let both your body and soule striue towardes our Lord. Ouercome anger with patience; loue the knowledge of Scripture, and you will not loue the vices of the flesh. Let not your mind attend to the variety of perturbations, which, if they find a resting place in your hart, will grow to exercise dominion ouer you, and bring you at last, to any grieuous sinne. Be still doing somewhat, that the Diuell may euer find you imployed. If the Apostles, who might haue liued vpon the Ghospell, laboured with their hāds least they should ouercharge others, and gaue almes to them, from whome they might haue *reaped carnall thinges for their spirituall*, why should not you prouid those thinges, which are fit for your owne vse? Either make some baskets of reedes, or els of small wicker; let the ground be raked, and the garden beds diuided by some straight line; into which as soone as you haue cast the seed of Kitchin herbes, and other plants be set in order, the springing waters may be brought, and you may sit by, as if you did euen see the contents of those most excellent verses,

The water on the brow of that steep passage playes.
Which falling on the pibles, a soft noyse doth rayse,
And by those liuely springes, the Sunne-burnt fieldes allayes.

Let your vnfruitfull tree either be inoculated or ingraffed, that

thas ſo in a ſmall tyme, you may eat the ſauoury fruit of your labours. Take order to make Bee-hiues, to which the Prouerbes of *Salomon* ſend you; and learne in thoſe little bodies, the order both of Monaſticall, and Monarchicall diſcipline. Knit nets for taking of fiſh, and write alſo ſomewhat, that both your body may get food, and your mind may be filled with reading. The laſy perſon contents himſelfe with bare deſires. The Monaſteries of *Egypt* haue this cuſtome, that they admit of no man, who will not vſe corporall labour; and that, not ſo much for the neceſſity of corporall food, as for the good of the ſoule. Let not your mind wander vp and downe in pernitious cogitations, nor be like to fornicating *Hieruſalem*, which partes her feet to all corners. When I was a young man, and when the deſerts of ſolitude compaſſed me in, I was not able to endure the *incentiues* of vice, and the ardour of my nature, which though I tamed with often faſting, yet my mind would be boyling vp in other thoughts. For the ſubduing whereof I committed my ſelfe to one, who of a Iew was become a Chriſtian; and I made my ſelfe ſubiect to his diſcipline, to the end, that after I had paſſed by the ſharpnes of *Quintilian*, the eaſy flowing of *Cicero*, the graue ſtile of *Fronto*, and the ſmoothnes of *Pliny*, I might begin to ſtudy the Alphabet, and meditate vp on theſe hiſſing, and broken-winded wordes. What labour it coſt me, what difficulty I endured, how often I deſpaired, how often I ceaſed, and how I began againe with a deſire and ſtriſe to learne, both my conſcience, who felt it, is the witnes, and ſo is theirs alſo, who liued with me. And I thanke our Lord, that now I gather ſweet fruit frō the bitter ſeed of thoſe ſtudies.

I will tell you alſo of another thing, which I ſaw in *Egypt* There was a young man, a *Grecian*, in the Monaſtery, who neither by abſtinence of diet, nor by any aboundance of the paines he tooke, was able to extinguiſh the flame of fleſh and blood. This man being thus in danger, the Father of the Monaſtery did preſerue by this deuiſe. He commanded a certaine graue perſon of the company, that he ſhould haunt the other, with brables and reproaches, in ſuch ſort, that after the iniury was offered, that other might be the firſt, who alſo made cōplaint.

The witneſſes being called, did teſtify in his behalfe, who had done the wrong. The other would weep againſt that lye, but no man was found who would belieue the truth; only the Father would ſubtilly come in to his defence, that ſo the brother might not be ſwallowed vp by too exceſſiue griefe. What ſhal I ſay more? There paſſed a yeare after this manner. Vpon the ending whereof, the young man being interrogated about his former thoughts, whether yet they gaue him any trouble? *Father*, ſayth he, *I haue much adoe to liue, and ſhould I haue a mind to fornication*? If this man had beene alone, by what meanes would he haue beene able to ouercome. The Philoſophers of this world are wont to driue away an old loue, with a new, like one naile with another: which the ſeauen Perſian Princes did to King *Aſſuerus*, that the concupiſcence which he had towards Queen *Vaſthi*, might be moderated by the loue of other Virgins. They cure one vice and ſinne by another; but we cõquer vice by the loue of vertue: *Decline*, ſayth he, *from euill, & do good*; *Seeke peace and purſue it*. Vnles we hate euill, we cannot loue that which is good: or rather we muſt do good, that we may decline from euill; we muſt ſeeke peace, that we may fly from warre. Nor doth it ſuffice vs to ſeeke it, vnles we follow it with all endeauour, when it is found; for it is ſtill flying from vs; but being obtayned, it exceeds all imagination, and God holdes his habitation therein according to that of the Prophet, *And his place is in peace*. And it is elegantly ſayd, that *Peace is perſecuted*, according to that of the Apoſtle, *Perſecuting hoſpitality*. For we muſt not inuite men with a ſleight and complementall kind of ſpeech, and (as I may ſay) from the teeth outward, but we muſt hold them faſt, with the whole affection of our mind, as perſons who after a compendious manner come to make vs rich.

No art is learnt without a Maſter. Euen dumbe creatures, and the heardes of wild beaſts, follow their leaders. The Bees haue their Princes: Cranes follow one of the flocke after a kind of learned manner. There is but one Emperour, and one ſupreme Iudge of a Prouince. *Rome* as ſoone as it was built, could not endure two brothers togeather, for Kinges; and ſo it was conſecrated in paricide. *Eſau* and *Iacob*, fought battailes

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in the wombe of *Rebecca*. Euery Church hath one Biſhop, one Arch-Prieſt, and euery Eccleſiaſticall order relyes vpon his owne gouernours. In a Ship, there is one man who ſteeres; in a houſe, one Lord; and the *VVord* comes but from one perſon, how great ſoeuer the Army be.

And that I may not make my Reader weary by repetitions, my whole ſpeech tends but to this, that I may teach you, that you are not to be committed to the gouernement of your owne will; but that you muſt liue in the Monaſtery, vnder the diſcipline of one Father; and in the conuerſation of many, that you may learne humility of one, & patience of another: one man may teach you ſilence, another meeknes. Do not that which you deſire; eat that which you are bidden; cloath your ſelfe with that which they offer; performe the taske, which is impoſed; be ſubiect to him, to whome you deſire not to be ſubiect; come weary to your bed, ſo that you may ſleep euen as you go; and as ſoone as you are ſleeping ſoundly, be compelled to riſe. Recite the Pſalmes in your turne; wherein, not the ſweetnes of your voice, but the pious affection of your mind is ſought by the Apoſtle, ſaying: *I will ſing with the ſpirit; and I will alſo ſing with the mind*; and, *ſinging to our Lord in your hartes*; for he had heard that it was thus commanded, *ſing wiſely*. Serue your brethren; waſh the feet of ſtrangers; be ſilent when you ſuffer wrong; feare the chiefe Father of the Monaſtery, as you would do your Lord, and loue him as your Father. Belieue that whatſoeuer he commandes is good for you, and iudge not the direction of your Superiours; you, whoſe office it is to obey, and to execute the orders which are giuen, according to *Moyſes*: *Hearken Iſrael, and hould thy peace* Hauing ſo great things to thinke of, you will not be at leaſure for idle thoughtes; and when you paſſe from one thing to another, and when the later action followes the former, your mind will be imployed vpon that alone, which you are bound to do. I haue knowne ſome, who after they renounced the world, not in their deedes, but in their cloathes, and wordes, made yet no change in their cõuerſation. Their eſtate or fortune was rather augmented, then diminiſhed. They vſed the miniſtery of the ſame ſeruantes, & kept the ſame ſtate at their table; in a plate of glaſſe, or earth

they eat gold; & being hemmed in with ſwarmes of ſeruants; they yet will needes take the name of being ſolitary vpon thē. They who are of the poorer ſort, and of weake fortune, and ſeeme to themſelues to be ſhrewd Schollers, walke forth in publicke, like as many Pageants, that they may exerciſe their ſnarling kind of eloquence. Others ſhrugging vp their ſhoulders, and chattering I know not what, within themſelues, & fixing their eyes firmely vpon the ground, meditate deeply vpon certaine ſwelling words; and if they had but a cryer, you would ſweare the *Prefect* were paſſing by. There are ſome, who by a certaine humour, to which they take, & by the immoderate faſtes, which they vſe, and by the wearynes of ſolitude, & much reading (whileſt day and night they make a noyſe in their owne eares) grow into ſuch a kind of melancholy, that they haue more need of *Hypocrates* his medecines, then my admonition. Many cannot forbeare their auncient artes, and negotiations; and changing the names of their broker, they ſtill exerciſe the ſame trafficke; not ſeeking food, and cloathing, according to the Apoſtles, but aſpiring to improue their ſtates, more then worldly men. Heretofore this rage of ſellers was repreſſed by thoſe *Ædiles*, whome the *Grecians* call ἀγορανόμους, nor was ſinne ſo vnpuniſhed then, as now it is. For now, vnder the title of Religion, vniuſt hudling gaynes are exerciſed, and the honour of the name of Chriſtian, is rather deceiuing, then deceiued. And (which is a ſhame to be ſayd; but there is no remedy, that ſo at laſt we may bluſh at our owne ſhame) when we ſtretch our handes forth publikly, we hide the gold within our cloaths, and againſt the opinion of all men, we dye rich with full bags, who liued in the eſtimatiō of being poore.

Neither muſt you be lead away, by the multitude of ſinners, or be ſollicited by the troupe of ſuch as are in the way to perdition, nor thinke thus within your ſelfe. *VVhat? Shall therefore all they be damned, who dwell in Cittyes?* Behould, they enioy their fortunes, they ſerue in Churches, they frequent the Bathes, they refuſe not odoriferous oyntments, and yet they are celebrated in the mouthes of all men. To this I anſwered before, and now I anſwere briefly againe, that in this preſent worke, I ſpeake not of Prieſts, but I inſtruct a Monke. Prieſts

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are holy, and euery profeſſion is laudable. Doe you therefore ſo proceed, and liue in the Monaſtery, that you may deſerue to be a Prieſt, that you may not defile your youth with the leaſt ſpot; that you may paſſe on to the Altar of Chriſt, as a virgin would do from her bed, chamber; that you haue a good reputation from abroad, and that woemen may know you by name, but not know you by ſight. When you come to a perfect mans eſtate, if your life be anſwearable, and either the people, or the Biſhop of the Citty make choice of you, into the clergy, doe you thoſe thinges, which belong to a Prieſt, and let the beſt Prieſts be your patterne. For in all conditions and eſtates, the worſt are mingled with the beſt. Do not ſtart forth to write ſuddenly, and be not carryed away with light madnes. Be long in learning that, which you may teach. Do not believe them who prayſe you, or rather do not lend your eare to them who ſcoffe at you. For when they ſhall haue ſtroked you with flattery, and put you after a ſort out of your wits; if you looke ſuddenly backe ouer the ſhoulder, you ſhall ſee them either ſtretch out their neckes at you, like ſo many ſtorkes, or moue the eares of an Aſſe, which they haue framed with their fingers, or thruſt out their tongues at you, as if it were at ſome panting Dog.

Detract from no man, nor conceaue your ſelfe to be therefore a Saint, for tearing other men in pieces. We accuſe others oftentymes for that which we alſo do, and we inueigh againſt thoſe vices; they who are dumbe, giuing ſentence againſt vs who are eloquent. *Grunnius* ſtauked on toward his ſpeech, with the pace of a *Tortois*, and by certaine pauſes would be hardly able to ſpeake a few wordes, ſo that you would rather thinke he ſwallowed, then ſpoke; and yet when he had layd a heap of his bookes abroad vpon the table, and had compoſed his face to ſeuerity, and had contracted his noſe, and caſt his forehead into a frowne, he would ſnap with two of his fingers beſpeaking the attention of his Auditours by that ſigne, & then would he powre out meere toyes by heapes, and declayme againſt all the world; and you would ſay he were *Longinus* of *Creete*, and the *Cenſor* of the roman eloquence; he would taxe whome he liſted, & expell them from the Senate of *Doctours*.

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But this man being wel moneyed, gaue men more contentmẽt at the dinners he made. Nor was it any marueile, that he who was wont to inueigle many, would proceed in publicke with a crowd of clamorous parasites round about him; and indeed he was a *Nero* in substance, and yet a *Plato* in shew. He was all ambiguous, as being framed of seuerall yea and euen contrary natures. You would say that he were some monster, or new beast, deuised according to that of the Poet. The first part hath of the Lyon, the last of the Dragon, and the middle part is a very *Chymera*. Neuer visit you any such men as these, nor apply your selfe to them, *Nor let your hart decline to the wordes of malice*, nor doe you heare these wordes: *Sitting downe thou spakest against thy brother, and thou laydst a scandall before the sonnes of thy Mother*. And againe. *Sonnes of men, theyr teeth are weapons, and arrowes*. And elsewhere: *Their speech is more supple then oyle, and yet they are dartes withall*. And more clearely in Ecclesiastes: *As the serpent bites secretly; so doth he, who detracts priuatly from his brother*.

But you will say, I detract not: but if others doe, how can I help it? We pretend these thinges, for the excuse of our sinnes. Christ is not to be ouerreached by trickes. It is no sentence of myne, but of the Apostles: *Be not deceaued, God is not mocked*. He lookes into the hart; we looke but vpon the face. *Salomon* sayth in the Prouerbs: *A Northern wind scatters the clouds; and so doth a sadd countenance, detracting tongues*. For as an Arrow, if it be shot against a hard obiect, doth oftentymes returne vp on him, who sent it forth, and woundes him that wounded it; and that is then fullfilled; *They are made as a crooked Bow to me*. And elsewhere; *He who throwes a stone vp on high, it shall returne vpon his owne head*: So the detracter, when he sees that the face of his hearer is sad (or rather of him who should not be his hearer, but the stopper of his eares, least he chance to heare the iudgment of blood) is presently put to silence, his countenance growes pale, his lips will not part, his mouth is dryed. Whereupon the same Wise man sayth: *Doe not mingle thy selfe with detracters, for suddenly their perdition will arriue*, and who knowes the ruine of them both. That is it to say, both of the speaker, and of the hearer. Truth seekes no corners, nor doth it desire

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any whiſperers. It is ſayd to *Timothy*: *Be not eaſy in receauing an accuſation againſt a Prieſt*. But if indeed he ſinne, reproue him publikely, that others alſo may be affrayd. You muſt not be light in belieuing any thing of a man in yeares, who is alſo defended by the fame of his former life, and who receaues the honour of any eminent title. But becauſe we are men, and ſomerymes we diſhonour our mature yeares by falling into the errours of children: therefore if thou wilt correct me, when I offend, reproue me publickly, and only do not bite me behind my backe. *The iuſt man will correct, and reproue me in mercy, but let not the oyle of the ſinner bedaube my head*, And our Lord cryes out by *Iſaias*: *O my people, they who ſay you are happy, ſeduce you, and ſupplant your ſteppes*. For what doth it profit me, that thou relate my faults to others, if whileſt I know nothing of the matter, thou woundeſt another with my ſin, or rather with thyne owne detractions, and when thou makeſt haſt to recount it to all the world, thou ſpeakeſt it ſo to euery one, as if thou hadſt not ſayd it to any other. This is not to reforme me, but to humour thy ſelfe in thyne owne ſinne. Our Lord commandes that ſinners ſhould be ſecretly admoniſhed face to face, or els before witneſſe; & if they refuſe to obey, that account ſhould then be giuen of it, to the Church; and that if they would be obſtinate in doing ill, they ſhould be held for Publicanes, and Pagans.

I haue beene the more expreſſe in this, to the end I may free my young man from the itch both of eares, and tongue, and that ſo being regenerate in Chriſt, *I may exhibite him without wrinkle or ſpot*, like a modeſt virgin who is chaſt, both in body and mind. Leaſt els, he ſhould glory in the only name he beares, and then his lampe being extinguiſhed, for lacke of the oyle of good workes, he ſhould be excluded by the ſpouſe. You haue there, the moſt holy and learned Biſhop *Proculus*, who will excell theſe letters of ours, with his admonitions, by word of mouth; and will direct your courſe, by his daily directions; and not ſuffer you, by declyning on either hand, to forſake the Kinges high way. Iſrael haſtening to the land of repromiſion, aſſures him that he will go. And I pray God, that voice of the Church may be heard, *O Lord graunt vs peace, for*

thou hast giuen vs all thinges. God graunt that our renouncing the world, be an act of our will, and not of necessity; and that our pouerty being desired by vs, may haue glory; and not that being imposed, it may giue torment. But after the rate of the miseries of these tymes, and the swords which are euery where vnsheathed, he is rich inough, who hath bread to eat; he is but too powerfull, who is not constrained to be a slaue. Holy *Exuperius* the Bishop of *Tolosa*, the imitatour of that widow of *Sarepta*, feeds others, though himselfe be hungry; and hauing his face pale with fasting, he is tormented with the hunger of others; & hath bestowed his whole substance vpon the bowells of Christ. There is nothing richer then this man, who carryes the body of our Lord, in a basket made of little twigs; & his blood in a glasse; who hath cast auarice out of the Temple; & without any whip or reproofe, hath ouerthrowne the chaires of them, that sould doues (that is to say, the gifts of the holy Ghost) and the tables of riches; and hath dispersed the money of the changers, *That the house of God may be called the house of prayer and not a denne of Theeues*. Follow the steps of this man close at hand, and of the rest who are in vertue like him, whome Priesthood makes humbler, and poorer, then he was before. If you desire to be perfect, go with *Abraham* out of your owne countrey, and from your kindred, and go forward, without so much as knowing whither. If you haue an estate sell it, and giue it to the poore; if you haue none, you are already rid of a great deale of trouble. Be naked in following Christ, who is nacked. It is heauy, it is high, it is hard, but the rewardes are great.

S. Hierome against Vigilantius the Heretike.

THERE are many Monsters brought forth in the world. *Centaures* and *Syrens*, *Harpyies*, and other prodigious birds are mentioned in *Esay*. *Leuiathan* and *Behemoth* are described by *Iob*, in a mysticall kind of language. The Poets in their fables speake of *Cerberus*, and the *Stymphalides*, the *Boare of Erymanthus*, the *Nemean Lion*, the *Chimera*, and the *Hydra* of many heades.

Virgil describes *Cacus*; and the countryes of *Spaine*, haue shewed vs, that three formed *Geryon*. *France* alone hath brought no Monsters, but hath euer abounded with most valiant, and most eloquent men. Only *Vigilantius* is suddenly start vp, who more truly may be called *Dormitantius*, since he fights with his impur spirit, against the spirit of Christ; and, *Denyes that veneration is to be exhibited to the tombes of Martyrs*. He sayth also; *That Vigills are to be condemned*; *that Allelluia is neuer to be sung but at Easter*; *That Continency is heresy*; *and chastity but a seminary of lust*. And as *Euphorbus* is sayd to haue beene reuiued in *Pythagoras*; so is the wicked mind of *Iouinian* risen vp againe in this man: so that we are constrayned to answere to the sleights and subtilties of the Diuell, in the person both of that man, and this, to whome it may be iustly sayd, O thou wicked seed prepare thy children to be slaine, by the sinnes of thy Father. The former man being condemned by the authority of the Church of Rome, is not so properly to be sayd to haue giuen vp his Ghost, as to haue cast it out in the middest Pheasants, & Swines flesh; but this Tauerne-keeper of *Callagura*, who by nickename, in respect of the towne where he was borne, was called the dumbe *Quintilian*, sophisticates his wine with water; and out of the stocke of that ancient fraud, he strines to mingle the poyson of his perfidious doctrine with the Catholike fayth, to impugne virginity, to hate chastity; and at the full table of secular persons, to declaime against the fasting of Saints; whilest himselfe is playing the Philosopher, among his cuppes; and feeding licorishly vpon fine cakes, he will needes be stroked with the sweet singing of Psalmes. In such sort as that, in the middest of his bankets, he vouchsafes not to heare any other songes then of *Dauid*, *Iedithus*, *Asaph*, and the sonne of *Chorah*. These thinges do I vtter with a sad and grieued mind, not being able to containe my selfe, nor to passe by the iniuries, which are done to the Apostles and Martyrs, with a deafe eare. O vnspeakable abuse! he is sayd to haue found Bishops, who are partakers with him of his crime; if they may be called Bishops, who ordaine no Deacons, but such as first haue marryed wiues; not beleiuing that any vnmarryed man can be chast; and shewing thereby how holily themselues liue, who suspect all men of ill; and vnles they

they see that Priests haue wiues with great bellyes, and that their children be crying in their Mothers armes, they giue the not the sacraments of Christ.

But what shall then become of the Orientall Churches? What of the Churches of *Egypt*, & of the Sea Apostolike? which receiue men to Priesthood, either before they are marryed, or when then are widowes; or if still they haue wiues, yet they leaue to do the part of husbandes. But this hath *Dormitantius* taught, releasing the raynes to lust, and doubling by his exhortarions, that ardour of flesh and blood, which vsually boyles vp in youth, or rather quenching it, by the the carnall knowledg of woemen. That so now, there may be nothing, wherein we differ from horses, and swine, and such brute beasts, of whom it is written. *They runne towardes woemen as horses, which are mad with lust do to their kind; and euery man goeth euen neying after his neighbours wife*. This is that which the Holy Ghost sayth by *Dauid*, *Do not grow like the horse and mule, in whome there is no vnderstanding*. And againe he sayth of *Dormitantius*, and his companions, *Keep in, with the bridle and bit, the iawes of them who draw not neere to thee*. But now it is tyme, that setting downe his owne words, we procure to make them a particular answere. For it is possible, otherwise, that some maligne interpreter, or other, will againe alleadge, that my selfe haue deuised matter to which I may answeare with a Rhetoricall kind of declamation, like that which I wrote into *France* to the Mother and Daughter, who were in discord. The holy Priestes *Riparius*, and *Desiderius* are the occasions of this Epistle, for they write that their Parishes were infected by the neighbourhood of this man; and by our brother *Sesinnius*, they haue sent vs those bookes, which snorting vpon a furfet, he hath vomited out. And these men affirme, that many are found, who fauouring the vices of his life, are content to heare the blasphemies of his doctrine. The man is ignorant both in knowledge and wordes, he is of vngratefull speech, and who cannot so much as defend a truth: but yet in regard of worldly men, and poore woemen who go loaden with their sinnes, and who *are euer learning, and neuer arriue to the knowledge of the truth*, I wil make answeare to his trash, in this one single sitting vp at night, least

least otherwise I might seeme to despise the letrers of those holy men, who haue entreated me to do thus much.

But this man followes the kind of which he comes, as being descended from murdering theeues, and from a people made vp of many natiõs; Whome *Cneius Pompeius* (hauing conquered *Spayne*, and hastening to celebrate his triumph) thrust downe from the top of the *Pyrenean* hills, and gathered them together into one towne, whereupon the Citty was called by no other name, but of *Conuenæ*, that is to say of *People gathered together*. Thus farre doth he reach now, in exercising murdering thefts vpon the Church of God, and descending from the *Vectonians*, the *Arabatians*, and *Celtiberians* he ouerrunnes the Churches of *France*; not carrying in his hand the ensigne of Christ, but the standard of the Diuell. *Pompey* did the same in the Easterne parts also. And the *Cilician*, and *Isaurian* Pirates, & murdering theeues, being ouercome, he built a Citty for them betweene *Cilicia*, and *Isauria*, bearing his owne name. But that Citty doth still liue vnder the lawes of their forefathers, and no *Dormitantius* is sprung vp there. The Countreyes of *Fraunce* haue a domesticall enemy, and now they see a man of a troubled brayne, and fit to be bound vp, as *Hipocrates* directed that mad men should be, hauing a seat in the Church, and among other wordes of blasphemy deliuering also these; *To what purpose is it for thee, with so great respect, not only to honour, but to adore also, that (I know not what I should call it) which thou worshippest in that little portable violl.* And againe in the same booke; *VVhy doest thou adoringly kisse that dust, wrapped vp in a little cloath.* And afterward; *VVe see that almost after the manner of the Gentils, it is introduced into our Churches, vnder the pretence of Religion, to light huge heapes of waxen tapers; and euery where they kisse, and adore I know not what little dust in a little violl, wrapped about in some pretious linnen cloath Such men as these do doubtles impart great honour to the most blessed Martyrs in thinking that they may be illustrated by those most base waxe lights, whome the Lambe, who is in the middest of the Throne doth illuminate, with the whole brightnes of his Maiesty.*

But who, O you mad headed man. Did euer adore the Martyrs? Who thought that a man was God? Did not *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when they were thought by the *Lycaonians* to be *Iupiter*,

piter, and *Mercury*, and had a mind to offer them sacrifice, teare their garments, and declare that they were but men? Not but that they were better then *Iupiter* or *Mercury*, who were dead long before; but because, vnder the errour of Paganisme, the honour which was due to God, was deferred to them. This we also read of *Peter*, who when *Cornelius* desired to adore him, raysed him vp by the hand, & sayd; *Rise vp, for I am also a man.* And dare you say, *That same, I know not what, which you worship in that little viell to be carryed vp and downe?* What is that thing which you call by the name of *I know not what*? I would faine vnderstand what you meane by it. Speake plainely that you may with perfect liberty blaspheme, *That same I know not what kind of little dust, in that little viell, wrapt about with a precious linnen cloath.*

He is grieued that the Relikes of Martyrs are preciously couered, and wrapped vp, and that they are not foulded in cloutes, or course haire clouths, or cast in fine into some dunghill, that so *Vigilantius* alone, being drunke a sleep, might be adored. So that belike we commit sacriledge when we go into the temple of the Apostles. *Constantine* the Emperour was also sacrilegious, who transferred the holy Relikes of *Andrew*, *Luke* and *Timothy* to *Constantinople*; at the presence of which Relikes, the Diuels roare, and the Inhabiters of *Vigilantius* confesse, that they feele the presence thereof. Yea and *Augustus Arcadius*, is not only to be accounted sacrilegious, but a sot also, who hath carryed *a thing most base, and euen loose ashes in silke, and in a case of gold*. The people of all Churches must be also fooles, who went to meet those holy Relickes, and entertayned them with so much ioy, as if they had beheld the Prophet present, & liuing with them, in such sort, as that the swarmes of people, did euen reach from *Palestine* to *Chalcedon*, and did sound forth the praise of Christ with one voice. Belike they adored *Samuel*, & not Christ whose Priest & Prophet *Samuel* was. You think he is dead, and therefore you blaspheme. But read the Ghospel. *The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Iacob, is not the God of the dead but of the liuing.* If therefore they be aliue, they are shut vp, belike according to your opinion, in some honest prison. For you say, *that the soules of the Apostles, and Martyrs, are in*

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the bosome of Abraham, or in a place of repose, and ease, or vnder the Altar of God, and that they cannot be present at their tombes, and where els they will. So that belike they are endewed with the dignity of Senatours, who are not condemned to be kept in some abhominable prison; but shut vp in some honest and free custody, in the fortunate *Ilands*, and *Elisian fields*.

But will you prescribe a law for God? Will you tye vp the Apostles in chaines, in such sorte as that they shall be kept in prison, till the day of iudgment, and not be with their Lord; they of whome it is written, *They follow the Lambe whersoeuer he goes*? If therefore the Lambe be euery where, they also who are with the Lambe, are to be belieued to be euery where. And if *Lucifer*, & the rest of the Diuells wãder ouer the whole world, and by their too excessiue swiftnes, be euery where at hand, shall Martyrs after the effusion of their blood, be shut vp in a chest, and not be able to go forth?

You say further in your booke, *that whilest we liue, we may pray mutually for one anhoter; but after we shall be dead the prayer of noe one is to be heard for another*, especially *since Martyrs, desiring the reuenge of their blood were not able to obtayne it.*

But if the Apostles and Martyrs, being yet liuing in these mortal bodies, might pray for others, when still they ought to be solicitous for themselues; how much more can they do it after they haue obtayned their crownes, their victories, & triumphes? That one man *Moyses*, obtayned pardon of God for six hundred thousand armed men: and *Steuen* the imitatour of our Lord, and the first Martyr of Christ, begges fauour for his persecuters; and shall they be of lesse power when they haue begun to be with Christ? *Paul* the Apostle affirmes, that two hundred seuenty six mens liues were saued in the ship at his suit, and when *being dissolued, he shall be with Christ*, shall his mouth be stopped, and shall he not dare to speake a word for them, who throught the whole world did belieue, vpon his preaching the Ghospell? And shall *Vigilantius* this liuing dog, be better then that dead Lyon? I might rightly alleadge this out of *Ecclesiastes*, if I should confesse that *Paul* were dead in spirit, but Saints in fine *are not sayd to be dead, but to be sleeping*. Whereupon *Lazarus*, who was to rise againe, was sayd to sleep;

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piter, and Mercury, and had a mind to offer them sacrifice, teare their garments, and declare that they were but men? Not but that they were better then Iupiter or Mercury, who were dead long before; but because, vnder the errour of Paganisme, the honour which was due to God, was deferred to them. This we also read of Peter, who when Cornelius desired to adore him, raysed him vp by the hand, & sayd; *Rise vp, for I am also a man.* And dare you say, *That same, I know not what, which you worship in that little viall to be carryed vp and downe?* What is that thing which you call by the name of *I know not what?* I would faine vnderstand what you meane by it. Speake plainely that you may with perfect liberty blaspheme, *That same I know not what kind of little dust, in that little viall, wrapt about with a precious linnen cloath.*

He is grieued that the Relikes of Martyrs are preciously couered, and wrapped vp, and that they are not foulded in cloutes, or course haire clouths, or cast in fine into some dunghill, that so *Vigilantius* alone, being drunke a sleep, might be adored. So that belike we commit sacriledge when we go into the temple of the Apostles. *Constantine* the Emperour was also sacrilegious, who transferred the holy Relikes of *Andrew, Luke* and *Timothy* to *Constantinople*; at the presence of which Relikes, the Diuels roare, and the Inhabiters of *Vigilantius* confesse, that they feele the presence thereof. Yea and *Augustus Arcadius*, is not only to be accounted sacrilegious, but a *sot* also, who hath carryed *a thing most base, and euen loose ashes in silke, and in a case of gold.* The people of all Churches must be also fooles, who went to meet those holy Relickes, and entertayned them with so much ioy, as if they had beheld the Prophet present, & liuing with them, in such sort, as that the swarmes of people, did euen reach from *Palestine* to *Chalcedon*, and did sound forth the praise of Christ with one voice. Belike they adored *Samuel*, & not Christ whose Priest & Prophet *Samuel* was. You think he is dead, and therefore you blaspheme. But read the Ghospel. *The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Iacob, is not the God of the dead but of the liuing.* If therefore they be aliue, they are shut vp, belike according to your opinion, in some honest prison. For you say, *that the soules of the Apostles, and Martyrs, are in*

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the bosome of Abraham, or in a place of repose, and ease, or vnder the Altar of God, and that they cannot be present at their tombes, and where els they will. So that belike they are endewed with the dignity of Senatours, who are not condemned to be kept in some abhominable prison; but shut vp in some honest and free custody, in the fortunate *Ilands*, and *Elisian fields*.

But will you prescribe a law for God? Will you tye vp the Apostles in chaines, in such sorte as that they shall be kept in prison, till the day of iudgment, and not be with their Lord; they of whome it is written, *They follow the Lambe whersoeuer he goes*? If therefore the Lambe be euery where, they also who are with the Lambe, are to be belieued to be euery where. And if *Lucifer*, & the rest of the Diuells wãder ouer the whole world, and by their too excessiue swiftnes, be euery where at hand, shall Martyrs after the effusion of their blood, be shut vp in a chest, and not be able to go forth?

You say further in your booke, *that whilest we liue, we may pray mutually for one anhoter; but after we shall be dead the prayer of one one is to be heard for another*, especially *since Martyrs, desiring the reuenge of their blood were not able to obtayne it.*

But if the Apostles and Martyrs, being yet liuing in these mortal bodies, might pray for others, when still they ought to be solicitous for themselues; how much more can they do it after they haue obtayned their crownes, their victories, & triumphes? That one man *Moyses*, obtayned pardon of God for six hundred thousand armed men: and *Steuen* the imitatour of our Lord, and the first Martyr of Christ, begges fauour for his persecuters; and shall they be of lesse power when they haue begun to be with Christ? *Paul* the Apostle affirmes, that two hundred seuenty six mens liues were saued in the ship at his suit, and when *being dissolued, he shall be with Christ*, shall his mouth be stopped, and shall he not dare to speake a word for them, who throught the whole world did belieue, vpon his preaching the Ghospell? And shall *Vigilantius* this liuing dog, be better then that dead Lyon? I might rightly alleadge this out of *Ecclesiastes*, if I should confesse that *Paul* were dead in spirit, but Saints in fine *are not sayd to be dead, but to be sleeping.* Whereupon *Lazarus*, who was to rise againe, was sayd to sleep;

and

and the Apoſtle forbiddes the *Theſſalonians to be afflicted for ſuch as ſleep*. But you ſleep euen when you wake, and you write whē you ſleep; & you propound to me an *Apocriphall* booke, which is read by you, and ſuch as you are, vnder the name of *Eſdras*, where it is writtē that after death, no one muſt dare to pray for auy other, which booke I neuer read. For to what purpoſe ſhould I take that booke in hand, which the Church doth not receaue? Vnles perhaps you will produce *Balſamus* to me, and *Barbelus*, and the treaſure of *Manichaus*, and the ridiculous name of *Leuſibora*; and becauſe you dwell at the foot of the *Pirenean* mountaines, and are a neighbour to *Spayne*, you aduance thoſe incredible monſters of opiniō which were vented by *Baſilides*, that moſt auncient, but ignorant, vnskillfull Heretike; & you propound, that which was condemned, by the authority of the whole world. For in your little Commentary, you take a teſtimony out of *Salomon*, as if it made for you; which, *Salomon* indeed neuer wrote: to the end that, as you had then another *Eſdras*, ſo now you may haue another *Salomon*. And if you will, go read thoſe fayned Reuelations of all the Patriarches and Prophets; and when you ſhall haue learnt them, you may ſing them in the weauing houſes of woemen; or rather propound them to be read in your tauernes: that ſo by meanes of theſe bables, you may the more eaſily prouoke the vnlearned vulgar to drinke hard.

But as for tapers of waxe, we light them not in cleere day, as you idly ſlaunder vs; but to the end, that by this comfort, we may temper the darknes of the night, and that we may watch by light, leaſt otherwiſe being blind, we ſhould ſleep in darknes like you. And if any either through the vnskillfullnes, or ſimplicity of ſecular men, or yet of deuout woemen (of whome we may truely ſay, *I confeſſe they haue the zeale of God, but not according to knowledge*) do this for the honour of Martyrs, what are you the worſe for that? The Apoſtles did alſo, long a go, complaine that a pretious oyntment was caſt away, but they were reproued by the voice of our Lord. For neither did Chriſt need that oyntment, nor the Martyrs *this light of tapers*; and yet that woman did that in honour of Chriſt, and the deuotion of her mind was accepted. And whoſoeuer light tapers,

pers, *haue their reward according to their fayth*, as the Apoſtle ſayth *Euery one aboundes in his owne ſenſe*. But do you call ſuch perſons as theſe, Idolaters? I deny not, but that all we, who belieue in Chriſt, came from the errour of Idolatry: for we are not Chriſtians by generation, but by regeneration. And belike, becauſe we once worſhipped Idols, we ſhould not now worſhip God, leaſt we may ſeeme to exhibit the ſame honour to him: which formerly we exhibited to Idols. That was done to Idols and therefore it was to be deteſted; but this is done to Martyrs, and therefore it is to be receaued. But abſtracting frō Martyrs Relickes, there are tapers lighted, through all the Churches of the Eaſt, when the Ghoſpell is to be read; how brightly ſoeuer the Sunne then ſhine. Not forſooth to driue away darkenes, but to declare our ioy by that teſtimony. Wherupon thoſe Euangelicall Virgins *haue their lampes euer lighted*. And it is ſayd to the Apoſtles: *Let your loynes be girt, & your lampes burning in your handes*. And of *Iohn Baptiſt* it was ſayd; that *He was a lampe which did both burne and ſhine*, that vnder the tipe of viſible light, the other light might be ſhewed, wherof we read in the Pſalme, *Thy word, O Lord, is a lanterne to my feet, and a light to my ſteps*.

So that the Biſhop of Rome doth ill, who ouer the bones of the dead men, *Peter* and *Paul* (which according to our beliefe are venerable, and according to you are *vile poore duſt*) doth offer ſacrifices to our Lord, and holdes their tombes to be the Altars of Chriſt. And not only he of one Citty, but the Biſhops of the whole world erre, who contemning this Tauerne-keeper *Vigilantius*, enter into the Churches of theſe dead men, wherein this *moſt baſe duſt, and I know not what kinde of aſhes, lyes wrapped vp in linnen*, that it ſelfe being defiled, may defile all thinges els; and which are like thoſe Phariſaicall ſepulchres, exteriourly adorned, when within, the aſhes being impure according to you, all other thinges may be alſo vnſauoury and impure. And then caſting vp that baſe vncleanes out of the profound hell of your ſtomach, you dare ſay thus, *Therfore belike the ſoules of Martyrs loue their aſhes, and houer about them, and are euer preſent with them; leaſt perhaps if ſome petitioner might come thither, they ſhould not be able to heare them, if themſelues were abſent.*

O prodigious Monster, fit to be posted away into the furdest foot of the whole earth! you scoffe at the Relickes of Martyrs, & together with *Eunomius* the authour of this heresy, you procure to cast a scandall vpon the Churches of *Christ*. Nor are you frighted by finding your selfe in such company as that; & you speake those very things against vs, which he spake against the Church. For none of his followers will go the Churches of the Apostles, and Martyrs; that forsooth they may adore the dead *Eunomius*, whose bookes they esteeme to be of more authority then the Ghospells; and in him they hold the light of truth to be; as other heresies affirmed, that the holy Ghost came into *Montanus*, yea and they say, that *Manichæus* is that very holy Ghost. That most learned man *Tertullian* (that you may not vaunt your selfe to be the first finder out of this wickednes) writes against this heresy of yours, which broke out long ago against the Church, an excellent booke, which he termed *Scorpiacum*, vpon a most iust reason; becausse by a circling kind of wound, that Heretike spread his poison vpon the body of the Church, by that heresy, which anciently was called of *Cain*, and which sleeping, or rather lying buryed a long tyme, is now by *Dormitantius* raised to life. It is a marueile, you say not, that Martyrdomes are not to be endured, becausse God doth not seeke the blood of so much as goates, or bulles, and much lesse will he require that of men. Which when you shall haue sayd, yea although you shall not say it, you shall be so accounted of, as if you sayd it. For he who affirmes, that the Relicks of Martyrs are to be troden on; forbids that blood to be shed, which is vnworthy of any honour.

Concerning *Vigils*, and sitting vp at night, which are often to be celebrated in Martyrs Churches, I haue giuen a briefe answere in another Epistle, which I wrote almost two yeares since, to *Riparius* the holy Priest. If therefore you thinke that they are to reiected, least otherwise we may seem to celebrate many seuerall Easters; and that we keep not solemne *Vigils* at the end of euery yeare: by the same reason no sacrifices should be offered to Christ vpon the Sundaies, least we should seeme to celebrate the Easter of the Resurrection of our Lord often; & so we should not haue one Easter, but many. Now that abuse

uſe and fault, which is many tymes committed in the night, betweene young men, and the baſeſt ſorte of woemen, is not to be imputed to deuout perſons; becauſe ſome ſuch thing is many tymes found to be committed, euen in the *Vigil* the Eaſter; but now the fault of few, muſt not preiudice this Act of Religion; For euen without *Vigils*, men may commit that ſinne, either in their owne or others houſes. The treaſon of *Iudas*, deſtroyed not the fayth of the Apoſtles, and ſo the ill *Vigills* of others, muſt not deſtroy our *Vigils*; but rather let them be conſtrained to watch to chaſtity, who ſleep to luſt. For that which was good being done once, cannot be euill, if it be done often. And if it be culpable through any fault, it is not culpable becauſe it was done often, but becauſe it was done at all. Let vs not therfore, belike, watch at Eaſter, leaſt the long entertained deſire of ſome adulterer, may chaunce to be fullfilled then, leaſt the wife find occaſion of committing ſinne; leaſt ſhe exempt her ſelfe, from being ſhut vp by her husbandes keye. Whatſoeuer is rare, is ſo much the more ardently deſired.

I cannot runne ouer all thoſe particulers, which are mentioned in the letters of thoſe holy Prieſts; but ſome I will produce out of his owne bookes. He frames arguments againſt thoſe wonders, and miracles, which are wrought in *Martyrs Churches*, and he ſayth, *they are good for vnbelieuers, but not for belieuers*. As if now the queſtion were, for whoſe ſake, and not by what power they are wrought. But well, let *Miracles* be wrought for Infidells, who becauſe they would not belieue ſpeech, and doctrine may be brought by *Miracles* to the fayth. Our Lord wrought *Miracles* for ſuch as were yet incredulous; and yet the *Miracles* of our Lord are not be taxed, becauſe they were for Infidels, but they were to be admired ſo much the more, becauſe they were of ſo great power, as to tame euen the ſtifeſt mindes, and oblige them to imbrace the fayth. Therfore I will not haue you tell me, *that miracles are for Infidels*: but anſwere me how there comes to be ſo great a preſence of wōders and miracles, *in moſt baſe duſt, and I know not what kind of aſhes*? I find, I find, O you the moſt vnhappy of all mortall men, what grieues you, and what frights you? The impure ſpirit which compels you to write thoſe thinges, is often tormented with

this most base dust, yea and is tormented this very day; and he, who dissembles the wounds, which he giues to you, confesses those which he giues to others. Vnles perhaps, after the manner of *Gentiles*, and prophane persons (such as *Porphyrius* and *Eunomius* were) you will pretend that these are but trickes of the Diuells; and that indeed the Diuells cry not out, but only that they fayne themselues to be in torment. Take my counsaile, goe to the Martyrs Churches, and you shall be one day dispossest. There shall you find many of your fellowes, and you shall be burnt, not *by the tapers of Martyrs*, which displease you, but by inuisible flames: and then you will confesse what you now deny; & you wil freely publish your owne name, though now you speake in the name of *Vigilantius*; and say, that either you are *Mercury*, for your desire of money, or *Nocturnus* according to the *Amphitryo of Plautus*, who sleeping in adultery with *Alcmena*, *Iupiter* made two nights of one, that *Hercules* might be borne full of strength. Or els that you are *Father Bacchus* for your drunken head, and you tankard hanging at your backe, and your face euer red, your lips foming, and your vnbridled tongue rayling. Whereupon there being a sudden earth-quake in this Prouince, which raysed all men from their sleep, you being the most discreet, & wise of mortall men, were praying naked, and represented to vs an *Adam* and an *Eue*, as they were in Paradise. Sauing that they hauing their eyes open, and seeing themselues naked, did blush and couer their secret partes with leaues of trees, but you being as naked of cloathes as voyd of vertue, and frighted with a sudden feare, hauing somewhat in you of the surfet of the former night, did expose the obscene parts of your body, to the eyes of the Saints, that you might shew how discreet a man you were.

Such enemyes as these hath the Church. These are the Captaines who fight against the blood of Martyrs; such Oratours as these, thunder out against the Apostles, or rather such madd Dogs as these barke against the disciples of Christ. I confesse my feare, least perhaps in your opinion it might seem, to grow from superstition. When I haue bene angry, when I haue had any ill thought in my mind, and haue beene deluded by any imagination in the night, I dare not goe into the Martyrs Churches;

ches; I doe all so tremble both in body and minde. Perhaps you will scoffe at me for this, as if it were the dotage of some old woman. But I blush not to hold fast the fayth of those woemen, who were the first in seeing our Lord after his resurrection, who weré sent to his Apostles, and who in the person of the Mother of our Lord & sauiour, were recomended to the same holy Apostles. Go you belching on, with the men who lead a worldy life. I will fast with those woemen, yea and also with those Religious men, who carry chastity euen in their countenance; and hauing their faces pale, through continuall abstinence, declare the modesty of Christ.

Me thinkes you also seem to be troubled at another thing and that is; least if chastity, sobriety, and fasting should continue to take deep footing in *France*, your Tauernes would make little gayne; and so you should not be able to continue those *Vigills* of the Diuel, & those drunken feasts, all night lõg.

It is related to me besides, in the same letters, that you forbid men to be at any charge, for the vse and comfort of those holy men, who liue at *Ierusalem*, against the authority of the Apostle *Paul*, yea and of *Peter* also, and of *Iames* and *Iohn*, who gaue handes to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, in *testimony of their consent with them, and required them to be mindefull of the poore*. But now if I should answere these thinges, you would presently barke out and say, that I am pleading myne owne cause; you who haue been so liberall to all the world, as that if you had not come to *Ieuralem*, & had not powred forth your own money, or that of your Patrons, we should all forsooth haue bene in danger to starue. For my part, I will but say that which the blessed Apostle *Paul* deliuers almost in all his Epistles, and enioyneth the Churches, which had bene conuerted among the Gentiles, namely that vpon the first day after the Sabboth, (that is to say, vpon the Sunday) men were all to conferre about that alms, which should be sent to *Hierusalē* either by their disciples, or by others, whome they should appoint; and that if it proued to be of moment, himself might either carry or send it. In the Acts of the Apostles, speaking to *Felix* the Gouernour, he sayth thus; *After many yeares, being to giue much almes to the men of my nation, and to make oblations and vowes, I came to Ie-*

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ruſalem, where they found me purifyed in the Temple. But had he not alſo power, to diſpoſe of ſome part of that, which he had receaued of others, vpon the Churches in other parts of the world, which growing to be Chriſtian, he had inſtructed by his preaching? But yet he deſired to impart the almes to the poore of thoſe holy places, who leauing their fortunes for Chriſt, had deuoted themſelues wholly to the ſeruice of our Lord. It were a long buſineſſe, if I would reflect vpon all the teſtimonies which might be brought out of euery one of thoſe Epiſtles, wherein the Apoſtle endeauours, and with his whole affection makes haſt to ordaine, that money ſhould be addreſſed to the faythfull at *Hieruſalem*, and to the holy places; not to ſatisfy couetouſnes, but for their neceſſary comfort; not for the gathering together of riches, but for the vphoulding of their weake bodies, and for the auoyding of hunger and cold; this cuſtome continuing in Iury euen to this day, not only among vs Chriſtians, but among the Iewes alſo, that they who meditate vpon the lawes of our Lords day and night, and who haue no Father vpon earth, but only God, ſhould be cheriſhed by the charities of the Synagogues of the whole world, with a fit equality; not that ſome ſhould be at eaſe, and ſome in miſery, but that the aboundance of ſome might ſerue to ſupply the wāt of others. But you will anſwere, that euery man may do this in his owne country, and that poore people will not be wanting to be mainteyned vpon the charity of the Church. And ſo alſo neither doe we deny, but that almes is to be giuen to all kind of poore people, yea though they be euen Samaritans, and Iewes, if there be enough for all. But the Apoſtle directeth indeed, *that we ſhould giue almes to all, but eſpecially to them of the houſhold of faith, in reſpect of whome our Lord ſayd in the Ghoſpell: Make your ſelues friendes by the Mammon of iniquity, who may receaue you in the eternall Tabernacles*. Now I pray you, can thoſe poore people, who among their rags and corporall miſeries haue burning luſt ruling ouer them, can they, I ſay, *haue any eternall Tabernacles*, who poſſeſſe neither preſent, nor future thinges? For not abſolutly ſuch as are poore, but ſuch as are *poore in ſpirit*, are called happy; of whome it is written: *Bleſſed is the man, who vnderſtandingly conſiders the poore and needy*,

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our Lord will deliuer him in the euill day. Now for the reliefe of the generality of poore people, there is no ſuch need of *Vnderſtanding*, but of the almes it ſelfe. In the caſe of ſuch poore as are holy, there is a kind of beatitude of *Intelligence*, that a man may giue to him, who will bluſh to receaue, and euen be ſory when he is on the taking hand, *reaping carnall thinges, and ſowing ſuch as are ſpirituall*.

But in that you affirme them to do better who ſtill make vſe of theyr owne goodes & diſtribute the reuenues of their eſtates by little & little, then they who by ſelling their landes, giue all at once, no anſwere ſhall be giuen you to this by me, but thus by our Lord, *If thou wilt be perfect go and ſell all that thou haſt & giue it to the poore, and come thou and follow me*. He ſpeakes to him who will be perfect, and who in company of the Apoſtles will diſmiſſe himſelfe of his father, of his ſhip, and of his net. This other man whome you cõmend, is of the ſecond and third ranke, whereof we alſo allow; ſo as yet we may know withall, that the firſt is to be preferred before the ſecond and the third.

Nor are Monkes to be frighted from their courſe by your viperous and moſt cruell biting tongue, againſt whome you argue thus, and ſay, *If all men ſhould ſhut themſelues vp, and betake themſelues to the deſert, who ſhall doe Offices in Churches, who ſhall gaine ſecular men to God, who ſhall exhort ſinners to a courſe of vertue?* And ſo alſo if euery body ſhould be a ſot with you, what wiſe man would there be in the world? And by this reaſon alſo virginity muſt not be approued. For if euery body ſhall be chaſt, there will then be no mariages, and then mankind will perish; noe infants will be crying in their cradles, Midwiues muſt goe begg without meanes to liue; and *Dormitantius* muſt ly awake in his bed in the coldeſt wether which can come, al alone, and ſhrunke vp together.

But vertue is a rare thing, and not ſought by many. And I would to God all men were that, which few are; of whome it is ſayd, *Many are called but few are choſen*. The priſons then would be empty. But as for the Monke it is not his Office to teach, but to lament and bewayle, either himſelf, or the world, and to expect the comming of our Lord with profound feare: who knowing

knowing his owne weakenes, and how brickle the pott is which he beares about him, is affrayd to offend, leaſt firſt he ſtumble, and then fall, and ſo it be broken. And for this reaſon, he declines the ſight of woemen, and eſpecially of the younger ſorte; and is ſo farre a chaſtiſer of himſelfe, that he ſhrinkes euen at thoſe thinges, wherein there is no danger.

But you aske me, why I go to the *Deſert*? Euen to the end that I may neither heare, nor ſee you; that I may not be offended by your madnes, nor endure the troubles which you put me to; that the harlots eye may not take hold of me, nor that great beauty of hers bring me to vnlawful embracements. But you will ſay; This is not to fight, but to fly. Stand faſt in the battaile, be in armour, and reſiſt your ennemy, to the end that you be crowned when you haue conquered. I confeſſe my weaknes, I will not fight through a hope of victory, leaſt at ſome tyme or other, I may chaunce to looſe it. If I fly, I auoyd the ſword; if I ſtay, I muſt either conquer, or be killed. But what need haue I to let goe that which is certaine, and to ſeek after that which is vncertaine? Death muſt be auoided, either by the targuet, or by flight. You who fight, may both ouercome, and be ouercome. I, when I fly away, ſhall euen therfore not be ouercome. There is no ſafety in ſleeping neere a ſerpent. It may be, he will not bite; but ſo perhaps, there may be a tyme, when he will. We call them our Mothers, our Siſters, and our Daughters, & we are not aſhamed to cloake our vices by ſuch names of piety as thoſe. But what doth the Monke in woemens chambers? What meane theſe ſingle and priuate conferences, and theſe countenances which are afraid of witneſſes? A holy loue, is not ſubiect to impatience; & that which we haue ſayd of luſt, may be applyed to couetouſnes, or any other vice which is auoided in the deſert. And therefore do not we decline the frequent reſort of Citties, leaſt we ſhould be obliged to do thoſe thinges, to which nature doth not compell vs ſo much as our owne will.

Theſe wordes (as I was ſaying) I haue dictated in the fitting vp of one night, at the requeſt of thoſe holy Prieſtes; our brother *Siſinnius* making much haſt, and going towardes *Egypt* with all ſpeed, to carry almes to the Saints there. For other-

wiſe,

wiſe, the matter it ſelfe is full of expreſſe blaſphemy, which rather would require indignation, in the writer, then any muſtering vp of proofs againſt him. But if *Dormitantius* keep himſelfe awake to rayle at me, and with the ſame blaſphemous mouth, wherewith he teares the Apoſtles and Martyrs, ſhall thinke alſo fit to detract from me; I will not keep my ſelfe waking in ſome ſhort ſitting vp, but all night long, both for him and his companions; or rather for his, either diſciples, or Maſters; who vnles they may ſee the woemen with great bellies, thinke their husbands to be vnworthy of the Miniſtry of Chriſt

The Epitaphe of S. Paula the Mother, directed to Euſtochium by S. Hierome.

IF all the parts of my body were conuerted into tongues, & all my limmes were able to expreſſe thẽſelues by the voice of man, I ſhould not yet be able to ſay any thing, which might be worthy of the vertues of the venerable and holy *Paula*. She was noble by extraction, and much more noble by her ſanctity; powerfull ſhe had once beene in riches, but now more illuſtrious by the pouerty of Chriſt. She who was of the ſtocke of the *Gracchi*, of the race of *Scipio's*, the heire of *Paulus* (whoſe name ſhe bore,) the true vndoubted progeny of *Martia*, *Papyria*, and the mother of *Africanus*, preferred *Bethleem* before *Rome*, & made an exchãge of her houſes brightly burniſhed with gold, for the baſenes of ill fauoured durt. We grieue not for hauing loſt ſuch a one; but we giue God thankes, in that we had her, or rather in that we haue her ſtill. For all thinges liue to God, and whatſoeuer returnes to our Lord, is ſtill reputed as a part of his Family. For our loſſe of her, is the peopling of that celeſtiall houſe; of her I ſay, who when ſhe was in her body, *was in pilgrimage from our Lord*; and would ſtill be ſaying with a lamenting voice; *Vi'o be to me becauſe my Pilgrimage is prolonged, I haue dwelt with the Inhabitants of Cedar, my ſoule hath beene farre off in pilgrimage*. Nor is it marueile if ſhe bewayled her ſelfe, as being in darkenes (for ſo is the word *Cedar* interpreted) ſince the *world is placed in malignity*, and the very light of it is like darke-

nes; but true light *ſhines in that darkenes, and darkenes comprehends it not*. Whereupon ſhe would very often inferre theſe wordes; *A ſtranger I am, and a pilgrime as all my Fathers were*. And againe; *I deſire to be diſſolued and to be with Chriſt*. But then, as often as ſhe was vexed by any infirmity of her body, which ſhe brought downe by incredible abſtinence & doubled faſting, ſhe would take this ſaying into her mouth; *I ſubiect my body, and I bring it into ſeruitude, leaſt whileſt I preach to others, my ſelfe may become a reprobate*. And; *It is good not to drinke wine, nor to eat flesh; and I haue humbled my ſoule in faſting*. And; *Thou haſt made my whole bed in my ſickenes; and I haue beene conuerted in my miſery, whileſt the thorne ſtucke in my ſides*. And in the middeſt of thoſe ſharp pangs of payne, which ſhe endured with admirable patience, ſhe would be ſaying, as if ſhe had ſeene heauen open, *VVho will giue me the winges as of a Doue, that I might fly vp, and reſt?* I take Ieſus and his Saints ſo witnes; and that particular Angell who was the keeper, and companion of this admirable womā, that I will ſay nothing of her for fauour, nothing after the cuſtome of flatterers; but whatſoeuer I am to ſay, ſhall be as if it were vpon myne oath; and yet ſtill it will fall ſhort of her merits, whome the whole world celebrates, whome Prieſts admire, whome the quiers of Virgins want, and the troupes of Monkes, and poore people, lament.

Do you, O Reader, deſire to know her vertues in few wordes? She left all her friendes poore, her ſelfe being more poore, then any of them all. Neither will it be ſtrange, that we ſhould ſay thus much of them, who were next her, as namely her fam ly (the ſlaues and hand-maydes whereof, in both ſexes, ſhe had exchanged into the name of brothers and ſiſters) ſince ſhe left the virgin *Euſtochium*, her daughter deuoted to Chriſt (for whoſe comfort this booke is made) farre off from her illuſtrious friendes, and only rich in fayth and grace. But let vs ſpeake of thinges in order. Let others fetch them higher; & from her cradle, & euen in her ſwadling cloutes (as I may ſay) produce her mother *Bleſilla*, and *Rogatus* her father, wherof the Mother was the ofspring of the *Scipio's*, and the *Gracchi*; & the Father is ſayd to haue drawne downe his blood, through the beſt nobility of all *Greece*, by deſcending from the ſtemme of

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that *Agamemnon*, who destroyed the Citty of *Troy*, in that ten yeares siege. As for vs we will prayse nothing in her, which was not her owne, and which is not to be deriued out of that purest fountaine of her holy mind.

Although our Lord and Sauiour taught his Apostles in the Ghospel, when they askehim, *what he would restore to them, who should part with their fortunes for his sake in this world: they should receaue a hundred fold, & eternall life in the next*: whereby we come to vnderstand, that it is no prayse to possesse riches, but to contēne them for Christ; not to swell vp with honour, but for the fayth of God to despise it. What our Sauiour promised to his seruāts, he hath truly performed in the present case. For she, who contemned the glory of one Citty, is celebrated by the fame of the whole world; she whom as long as she dwelt in *Reme*, none knew but they who were at *Rome*, lying now hid in *Bethleem*, both the *Barbariā* & the *Romā* world hath admired. For of what nation are there any men, who come not to visit the holy places? And who findes any thing in these holy places, which he may admire more then *Paula*? For as the most pretious Gemme doth outshine other little gemmes, and as the Sunne beames do ouerwhelme and obscure the brightnes of the little starres, so doth she with her humility, ouercome the excellencies and vertues of all the rest, and she is growne the greatest, because she would needs be the least of them all, and so much more as she deiected her selfe, so much more was she eleuated by Christ our Lord. She lay hid, and she lay not hid. By flying from glory she deserued glory, which follows vertue like a shadow; and forsaking such as honoured her, she sought after such as might contemne her. But what am I doing, now that I omit to speake of thinges in order; for whilest I take hould of so many particulers, I obserue not the rules of good discourse.

Paula being thus descended, was marryed to *Toxotius* her husband, who was extracted from that high blood of *Æneas* & the *Iulio's*; whereupon also her daughter, the virgin of Christ, *Eustochium*, is called *Iulia*; and that *Iulius* had his name deriued from the great *Iulus*. Now we speake of these thinges, not because they are great in them who haue them; but because they may be wondred at, in such as despise them. The men of

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this world admire such persons, as are adorned with these priuiledges; but we praise such others as contemne them, for the loue of our Sauiour; but we who esteeme little of those who haue them, do after a strang fashiō proclaime those others, who cōtemne, & care not for them. She being borne, I say, of those parents, was approued both in fecundity, & modesty, first by her husband, then by her friendes, and by the testimony of the whole Citty; and when she had brought forth fiue children, *Blesilla* (vpon whose death I comforted her at *Rome*,) *Paulina* (who left behind her that holy and admirable man *Pammachius*, the heire both of her holy purpose and her estate, to whome we addressed a little booke vpon the occasion of her death,) *Eustochium* (who is now in the holy places, euen the very pretious Iewell of virginity, and of the Church,) *Ruffina* (who by her vntimely death did euen astonish the tēder hart of the mother) & *Toxotius*, after whome she had no more children, that we might know she had no mind to attend to the office of a wife for any long time; but only to bring children, till the husbandes longing were satisfyed, in his desire of a sonne. When her husband dyed, she bewayled him so as that it had almost cost her her life; and yet withall shee did so giue her selfe away to the seruice of our Lord, that she might seem to haue desired her husbandes death.

What shall I stand to tell of her ample & noble house, which formerly was most abundantly rich, & whereof now all the wealth was spent vpon the poore? What, of her mind, which was so mercifully enclined to all? and of her goodnes which would be wandring, euen to the help of them, whome she had neuer seene? What poore man dying, was not shrowded in cloathes of her giuing? What cripples were not maintayned by her purse? whome causing to be sought for with extreme curiosity, ouer the whole citty she would hold it to be her owne losse in particular, if any weake or hungry person were sustayned by any food, but hers. She euen stript her owne children; & to her friends, who would be chiding her for this excesse; she would say, she meant to leaue them a greater inheritance, then she found, namely the mercy of Christ. Nor could she long endure the visits, and courting which was due to her most noble

house,

houſe, and to that high ſtock of hers, according to the account of the wold. She grieued at the honour which was done her, and made haſt to decline, and fly from the face of ſuch as gaue her prayſe. And when the Imperiall letters had brought the Biſhops both of the Eaſt, and Weſt to *Rome* for compoſing the diſſentions of ſome Churches, ſhe ſaw thoſe admirable men, and Biſhops of Chriſt, *Paulinus*, the Biſhop of the Citty of *Antioch*, & *Epiphanius* of *Salamina* in *Cyprus*, of whome ſhe had *Epiphanius* for her owne gueſt, and *Paulinus* though lodging in an other houſe ſhe poſſeſſed as her owne, by the care ſhe had of him.

Being inflamed by the vertues of theſe men, ſhe deuiſed, from one minute to another, how to forſake her country. And not being mindfull of her houſe, not of her children, not of her family, not of her eſtate, not of any thing which belonges to this world, ſhe had an earneſt deſire to be going on, euen alone, and vnaccompanyed (as a man may ſay) to the deſert of thoſe *Anthonies* and *Pauls*. At length the winter being ſpent, and the ſea being open; the Biſhops returning to their Churches, ſhe alſo, in her deſire, and with the vowes of her hart, went ſayling with them. Why ſhall I deferre it longer? She went downe to the Sea port, her brother, her kinred, her alyes & (which is more then this) her children following her, & ſtriuing with their earneſt ſuits, to ouercome that moſt tender mother.

The ſailes were by that time ſpread, and by ſtretching of the Oares, the ſhip was drawne into the deepe. Little *Toxotius* caſt forth his begging hands, vpon the ſhoare. *Ruffina*, who then was marriageable, did in ſilence craue with teares, that ſhe would expect to ſee her beſtowed. But *Paula* the while, caſt vp her dry eyes towards heauē, ſurmounting her dear affectiō towards her children, by her deuotion towards God. She knew not her ſelfe to be a mother, that ſhe might approue her ſelfe, for a hand-mayd of Chriſt. Her very bowels were racked within her, and as if ſhe had bene torne from the very parts of her owne body, ſo did ſhe fight with grief, in this ſo much the more admirable to all, as ſhe carryed a great loue to them which was to be conquered. When people are in the hands of enemyes, & in the ſad condition of captiuity, there is no one thing more

 cruell,

cruell, then for parents to be separated from their children. And yet euen this, did her full faith endure, against the rights of nature; nay her ioyfull hart did desire it, and contemning the loue of her children through her superiour loue towards God, she contented her selfe with onely *Eustochium*, who was the cōpanion, both in her holy purpose, & nauigation. In the meane time the shippe plowed vp the Seas, & all the passingers who were embarked with her, looking backe vpon the shoare, she only turned her eyes from thence; that so she might not see thē, whom she could not behould without torment. I confesse that no woman could more loue her children, to whom, before she went, she gaue away whatsoeuer she had best.

Being arriued at the Iland of *Pontia* which aūciently had bene ennobled by the banishment of that most excellēt of woemen *Flauia Domitilla*, vnder the Emperour *Domitian*, for confessiō of the name of Christ, & beholding those Coles wherin she had suffred a long martyrdome she then tooke vp the wings of faith and desired to visit *Ierusalem* and the holy places. The windes were thought sluggish, and all speed was slowe. Committing her selfe to the Adriaticke Sea, between *Scylla* and *Carybdis*, she came, as by a lake, to *Methona*; and there refreshing her selfe a little, & laying her seasicke limmes vpon the shoare, by *Malea*, & *Cythera*, and the *Cyclads* (which are sprinkled ouer that Sea) and those waues being the more furious by the often indenting of the land and hauing also passed by *Rhodes*, and *Lycia*, at length she came to *Cyprus*, Where casting her selfe at the feet of the holy and venerable *Epiphanius*, she was deteyned by him ten dayes, not for her regalo as he meant it, but for the worke of God, as indeed it proued. For vewing all the Monasteries of that quarter, she left to the vttermost of her power, certeyne almes to beare the charge of those brothers, whom the loue of that holy man had drawen thither from the seuerall parts of the whole world From thence she made a short cut ouer to *Seleucia*, & then going vp to *Antioche*, & being deteyned a while by the charity of the holy Confessour *Paulinus*, in the hart of winter, (her owne hart being most hot with a liuely faith) the noble creature who auntiently vsed to be carryed by *Eunuches* hands, did put her selfe now to trauaile, vpon an asse. I omit to

speake

ſpeake of *Cales*, the way to *Syria* and *Phenices* (for I meane not to writ her Iournall) but will only name thoſe places, whereof mention is made in holy Scripture. And leauing *Berytus*, the *Colony* of *Rome*, as alſo the auntient Citty of *Sidon*, ſhe went into the little tower of *Elias* vpon the ſhoare of *Sarepta*; wherin hauing adored our Lord our Sauiour, ſhe came to *Coph*, which now is called *Ptolemais*, by thoſe ſandes of *Tyrus*, where *Paul* prayed vpon his knees. And paſſing by the fields of *Mageddo*, which were priuy to the death of *Ioſias*, ſhe entred into the land of *Philiſtim*, & wondred at the ruines of *Doe*, which was once a moſt powerfull Citty, and on the contrary ſide ſhe ſaw the tower of *Strato*, which was called *Ceſarea* by *Herod*, King of Iury, in honour of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, wherein ſhe beheld the houſes of *Cornelius*, which grew to be a Church of Chriſt; and the little houſes of *Phillip*, and foure chambers of the prophetiſing virgins; and then *Antipatris*, a towne halfe ouerthrouen, which *Herod* had called by the name of his father, and *Lidda*, changed into *Dioſpolis*, made famous by the reſurrection of *Dorcas* to life, & of *Æneas* to health. Not farre from thence was *Arimathea*, the little towne of *Ioſeph*, who buryed our Lord, and *Nobe* which aũtiently was the Citty of Prieſts, now a ſepulture of the dead, and *Ioppe* alſo the hauen of *Ionas*, when he fled, and (to the end that I may giue ſome little touch of the inuention of Poets) which was the ſpectatrix of *Andromade* when ſhe was tyed to the rocke. And then renewing her Iourney, ſhe went on to *Nicopolis*, which formerly had bene called *Emaus*, where our Lord being knowen in the breaking of bread; did conſecrat the houſe of *Cleophas* a Church.

Departing from thence, ſhe aſcended both into the vper and lower *Bethoron*, which were Citties built by *Salomon*; but were afterward deſtroyed, through the tempeſt which was drawen vpon them, by ſeuerall warres; beholding vpon her right hand, both *Haialon*, and *Gabaon* where *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Naue*, fighting againſt fiue Kinges, commanded both the ſunne and moone; and condemned the *Gabaonites* to be water carryers, and wood-cutters, for their trechery, and falshood in breaking the league, which themſelues had obtayned. *In Gabaon* (which had bene a Citty, but was then deſtroyed euẽ

to the very ground) she paused a while; remembring the sinne it committed, and the concubine cut in peices, and the three hundred men of the tribe of *Beniamin*, who were reserued for *Paul* the Apostles sake.

Why make I any longer stay? Hauing left the tombe of *Helena*, on the left hand (who being the Queen of the *Adeabenians*, had relieued the people with corne in a time of famine, she entred into *Hierusalem* that citty of a treble name; *Iebus*, *Salem*, and *Hierusalem*, which afterward out of the ruines, and ashes of the Citty, was raised by *Helius Adrianus*, and called *Helia*. And when the *Proconsul* of *Palestine* (who excellētly well knew her Family) had sent her Officers before, and commanded the Pallace to be prepared, she rather chose an humble Cell; and went round about to all those places with so great ardour, and affection of mind, that vnles she had hastened to haue seene the rest, she would neuer haue beene drawne from the former. And lying prostrate before the Crosse, she adored our Lord, as if she had seene him hanging on it. Being entred into the Sepulcher, she kissed the stone of the Resurrection, which the Angell had remoued from the doore thereof. And that very place, where our Lord had lyen, shee licked with a faythfull mouth, as any thirsty creature would do, the most desired waters. What teares, what groanes, what griefe she there powred forth, all *Hierusalem* is a witnes; and indeed our Lord himselfe is the best witnes, to whome she prayed. Going ont from thence, she went vp to *Syon*, which now is turned into a watch-tower, or lanterne. This Citty, *Dauid* did anciently, both destroy, and build againe. Of this, when it was destroyed, it is written thus; *VVoe be to thee, O Citty Ariel*, that is, *thou Lyon of God, and once of excessiue strength, which Dauid tooke*. And of that Citty being reedifyed, it is sayd; *Her foundations are in the holy hills, our Lord loueth the gates of Sion, aboue all the Tabernacles of Iacob*: not those gates which now we see dissolued into dust, and ashes; *but the gates, against which hell cannot preuaile*, and by which the multitude of belieuers go into Christ. There was shewed to her, a pillar of the Church houlding vp the porch, which was spotted by the blood of our Lord, to which he was sayd to haue beene bound, and whipt, and that place

also

alſo shewed where the holy Ghoſt *deſcended vpon the ſoules of more then a hundred and twenty believers*, that the prophecy of *Ioel* might be fulfilled.

After this hauing diſpoſed of her little meanes to the poore who by that tyme were growne to be her fellow-ſeruants, ſhe went on towards *Bethlem*, & ſtayed on the right hand of her way, at the ſepulcher of *Rachel*, wherin the mother of *Beniamin* brought him forth, not *Benoni* as ſhe called him when ſhe was dying, that is, *the Sonne of my griefe*, but as the Father prophecyed of him in ſpirit, which is, *the ſonne of my right hand*. And from thence going to *Bethleem*, and entring into that hollow place of our Sauiour, as ſoone as ſhe ſaw the ſacred lodging of the Bleſſed Virgin, & that ſtable *wherin the Oxe knew his owner, and the Aſſe the manger of his Lord* (that it might be fulfilled which was written by the ſame Prophet; *Bleſſed is he who ſoweth vpon the water, where the Oxe and Aſſe do tread*.) She ſwore in my hearing, that ſhe ſaw with the eyes of Fayth, the child wrapped in his cloutes, and our Lord crying in the manger, the *Magi* adoring, the Starre ſhining from aboue, the Virgin Mother, the diligent Foſter-father, the Paſtours comming by night; *that they might ſee the VVord which was made* (and ſo dedicated euen then, the beginning of *Iohn* the *Euangeliſt*; *In the beginning was the word, and the word was made flesh*,) *Herod* raging, the young Infants ſlaine, *Ioſeph* & *Mary* flying into *Egypt*. And then with teares mixed with ioy ſhe ſayd; *All haile, O Bethleem, the houſe of bread, wherein that bread was borne, which deſcended from heauen; All haile, O Ephrata, thou moſt abundant, & fruitfull Region, whoſe fertility, God is. Of thee* Micheas *propheeyed of old. And thou Bethlem the houſe of Ephrata, art not the leaſt among ſt thoſe thouſand of Iuda; out of thee ſhall he come forth to me, who is the Prince in Iſraell; & his going forth is from the beginning, from the dayes of eternity. Therefore ſhalt thou giue them, till the tyme of bringing them forth arriue. She ſhall bring them forth, and the relikes of her brethren ſhall be conuerted to the ſonnes of Iſrael. For of thee is borne a Prince, who was begotten before* Lucifer, *and whoſe birth on the Fathers ſide, doth exceed all ages. And ſo long did the beginning of* Dauids *ſtocke remaine in thee, till a Virgin did bring forth, and till the relickes of the people believing in Chriſt, were conuerted to the ſonnes of Iſraell, and did freely preach in*

this manner. To you first it was fit to preach the word of God. but because you haue reiected it, and iudged your selues vnworthy of eternall life, behold we are conuerted to the Gentils. For God had sayd, I came not but to the lost sheep of the house of Israell. And at that tyme, the words of Iacob were fullfilled: A prince shall not be wanting out of the house of Iuda, nor a Captaine out of his loynes, till he come, for whome it is layd vp; and he shall be the expectation of the Gentiles. Dauid swore truly, and made his vowes well, saying: If I enter into the tabernacle of my house, if I ascend into the bed of my couch, if I graunt sleep to myne eyes, and slumbring to myne eye-lids, till I find a place for our Lord, and a tabernacle for the God of Iacob. And instantly he declared what he desired, and with his propheticall eyes discerned that he was to come, whome now we see to be come already: Behold we haue heard him in Ephrata, we found him in the fieldes of the wood. For *Vau* the Hebrew word (as I haue learned by your teaching) doth not signify *Mary* the mother of our Lord, that is αὐτὸν, but him, that is αὐτόν. Whereupon she confidently sayd; *We will go into his Tabernacles; we will adore in the place where his feet haue stood. And, I miserable and sinnefull creature, am I held worthy to kisse the manger wherein my Lord, being an infant cryed; to pray in that stable, where the Virgin Mother was deliuered of our Lord, being made a child? This is my rest, because it is in the country of my Lord; here will I dwell because my Sauiour made choice thereof. I haue prepared a lampe for my Christ, my soule shall liue to him, and my seed shall serue him.*

Not farre from thence, she went to the tower *Ader*, that is to say, Of the flocke, neere which *Iacob* fed his flockes, and the shepheardes, who watched by night, deserued to heare; *Glory be to God on high, and peace on earth, to men of a good will.* And whilest they kept their sheep, they found the Lambe of God, with that cleane & most pure fleece, which when the whole earth was dry, was filled with celestiall dew, and whose blood tooke away the sinnes of the world, and droue away that exterminatour of Egypt, being sprinkled vpon the posts of the house. And then presently with a swift pace she began to go forward, by that old way which leades to *Gaza*, to the power of the riches of God; and silently to reuolue within her selfe, how the *Ethiopian Eunuch* (prefiguring the Gentiles) did change his skinne, and whilest he was reflecting vpon his old way found

the

the fountaine of the Ghoſpel. From thence she paſled towards the right hād. From *Bethſur* she came to *Eſcoll*, which ſignifyes a Bunch of grapes, and from whence (in teſtimony of the extreme fertility of that ſoile, & as a type of him who ſayd: *I haue trod the wine preſſe alone, & not one of the Gentils was with me*) thoſe diſcouerers, or ſpyes carryed home a bunch of Grapes of a wōderfull bignes. Not farre from thence, she entered into the little houſes of *Sarah*, and viewed the antiquities of the infancy of *Iſaac*, and the relikes of *Abrahams Oake*, vnder which *he ſaw the day of Chriſt, and reioyced*. Riſing vp from thence, she aſcended vp to *Chebron*, which is *Cariath Arbe*, that is to ſay, the towne of the foure men, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob*, and the great *Adam*, whome according to the booke of *Ieſus Naue*, the Iewes conceiue to be buryed there, although many thinke that the fourth man was *Caleb*, whoſe memory they continue by ſhewing there a part of his ſide. Hauing viewed theſe places, she would not proceed to *Chariath Cephor*, that is to ſay, *the little towne of letters*, becauſe contemning the killing letter, she had found the quickning ſpirit. And she wondered more at thoſe ſuperiour and inferiour waters, which *Othoniel* the ſonne of *Iephone Kenaz*, had gotten, inſteed of that Southerne Land, & dry poſſeſſion; and by Aquiducts had moiſtened thoſe fieldes of the old teſtament, that he might find the redemption of old ſinnes, in the *water of Baptiſme*. The next day, the Sunne being riſen, she ſtood vpon the brow of *Chaphar Barucha*, that is, *the Towne of benediction*, to which place *Abraham* followed our Lord, looking downe from thence vpon a large deſert, & that Land, which of old was belonging to *Sodomah*, and *Gomorrah*, *Adamah*, and *Seboim*. She then contemplated thoſe Vines of *Balſamum in Engaddi*, and the Calfe of *Segor*; and *Zoara*, which in the *Syrian* language ſignifyes, *The little one*. She remembred the little hollow caue of *Lot*; and being all bathed in teares, she admonished the Virgins who accompanyed her, to take heed of Wine, *wherein Luxury is*; and whoſe fruites are the *Moabites*, & *Ammonites*.

I make too long ſtay in the South, where the ſpouſe found out her fellow-ſpouſe, as he was layd; and where *Ioſeph* was inebriated with his brethren. But I will now returne to *Hie-*

ruſalem; and betweene Thecua and Amos, I will behold the brightly shining light of Mount Oliuet, from whence our Sauiour aſcended vp to his Father; and vpon which mountaine, a red Cow was yearely burnt by way of Holocauſt to our Lord; the aſhes whereof did expiat the people of Iſrael: wherupon alſo the Cherubin paſſing away from the Temple; according to Ezechiel, there was founded a Church to our Lord. After this, going into the Sepulcher of Lazarus, ſhe ſaw the houſe of Mary, and Martha; and Bethphage, the towne of ſacerdotall iawes; and that place, where the wanton aſſes coult of the Gentiles accepted the bridle of God; and being ouerſpred with the Apoſtles garments, gaue an eaſy ſeat to the rider. Then did ſhe deſcend by a ſtraight way towards Iericho reuoluing in her mind, that wounded man of the Ghoſpell; and withall, the clemency of the Samaritan, which ſignifyes a Guardian, who layd the man being halfe dead, vpon his beaſt, and brought him to the ſtable of the Church, whileſt the Prieſts and Leuites, with vnmercifull harts paſſed by. She alſo ſaw the place called Adonim, which is by interpretation, of blood; becauſe much blood was wont to be ſhed there, by the frequent incurſion of murdering theeues. She ſaw the Sicomore tree of Zacheus; that is to ſay the good workes of penance, whereby he trod vnder foot his former ſinnes, which were full of extortion and cruelty; & beheld that high Lord of ours, from the height of vertue. And neer that way, ſhe ſaw thoſe places of the blind men, where receiuing their ſight, they prefigured the myſteries of both thoſe people, which were to beliue in our Lord.

Beingentred into Iericho, ſhe ſaw that Citty, which Hiell founded in Abiram, for his eldeſt ſonne; and whoſe gates were placed in Segub, for his youngeſt. She beheld the tents of Galgala, and the whole heape of foreskinnes and the myſtery of the Circumciſion, and the twelue ſtones which being transferred thither out of the bottome or bed of Iordan, did ſtrengthen the twelue fondations of the Apoſtles; and that fountayne of the lawe, which auntiently was moſt bitter and barren of waters, but now the true Elizeus had ſeaſoned it with his wiſedome, and indued it both with ſuauity, and plenty. The night was ſcarce paſſed when ſhe came with extreme feruour of deuotion

to *Iordan*. She stood vpon the bancke of the riuer; and as soon as the Sunne was vp, she remembred the Sunne of *Iustice*; and how the Priests had formerly set their dry feet in the middest of the riuer, when the streame made a fayre way, by the staying of the water halfe on the one side, and halfe on the other, vpon the commandement of *Elias* and *Elizeus*; and how our Lord, by his baptisme clensed those waters, which had bene infected in the tyme of the flood, by the death of all mankind. It will be a long businesse, if I shall take vpon me to speake of the valley of *Achor*, that is to say, *Of troubles* and *tumult*, wherin couetousnes and theft were condemned; and of *Bethel*, the house of God, wherin the poore & naked *Iacob* slept vpon the bare ground, and (laying that stone vnder his head, which in *ZacharY* is described to *haue seuen eyes*, and in *Esay* is called *the corner stone*) saw a ladder reaching vp to heauen, toward which our Lord inclined from aboue, reaching forth his hand to such as were labouring to get vp; and precipitating from on high, such as were negligent. She also exhibited veneration, to the Sepulchres of *Iesu* the sonne of *Naue* vpon mount *Ephraim*, and of *Eleazarus* the sonne of *Aaron*, which was there hard by, whereof the one was built by *Tamnathsare* on the northside of the Mount *Goas*, the other in *Gabaah* belonging to *Phinees* his sonne: she much wondered, that he who had the distribution of those possessions in his hands, had chosen the mountaynous & barreyne parts for himself. What shall I say of *Silo* whereof the altar was pulled downe, and is shewed to this day, where the tribe of *Beniamin* did forerunne the rapt of the Sabines, which was made by *Romulus* She passed by *Sichem* which now is called *Neapolis* (for it is not *Sichar*, as some erroneously affirme) and she entred into that Church, which is built neer the well of *Iacob*, vpon the side of the mountaine of *Garizim*, & vpon which well, our Lord sitting downe, and being hungry, and thirsty, was satisfyed with the faith of the *Samaritan* woman; who leauing both her fiue husbands vnder the law of *Moyses*, and the sixt whome then she auowed her selfe to haue, & giuing ouer that errour, to which *Dositheus* was subiect, found the true *Messias*, and the true Sauiour. And turning aside from thence, she sawe the tombes of the twelue Patriarchs, and *Sebastes* that is *Samaria*

Samaria, which in honour of *Augustus* was called *Augusta* in the *Grecian* language. There are the Prophets *Helizeus*, and *Abdias*, *Iohn* the *Baptist*, then *whom there was none greater among the sonnes of men*. There did she euen tremble, and was astonished with many wōderful things. For she found the diuels roare through seuerall torments; and that, before the Sepulchres of the Saints, men howled after the manner of wolues, and barked like dogs, and foamed like Lyons, hissed like serpents, and roared like Buls: Others did shake, and wheeled their heades about, & bent their crownes behind their backes to the ground; and woemen would be hanging vp by their feet, with their cloathes flying downe about their faces. She had pitty on them, and powred forth her teares, she begged mercy at the hands of Christ, for them all.

Now though she were but weake, yet she went vp the hill on foot; in two concauities whereof, *Abdias* the Prophet fed a hundred Prophets, with bread and water, in a time of famine and persecution. From thence, she went with a speedy pace to *Nazareth*, that nursery of our Lord, and to *Canaan* & *Caphernaum*, where his Miracles were so familiarly wrought. And she saw the lake of *Tyberiadis*, which was sanctifyed by our Lordr saying on it, & the wildernes wherein many thousands of people were satisfyed with bread; & where the twelue baskets of the twelue tribes of *Israell* were filled with the reliques of them who were fed. She climed vp to *Mount Thabor* wherein our Lord was transfigured. She saw a farre off, the hils of *Hermon* and *Hermonym*, and those large wild fields of *Galilee*; wherein *Sisara* and all his Army, was ouercome vnder the conduct of *Barach*; the torrēt of *Cison* which deuided that plaine by the middle; and the towne neer *Naim*, where the widowes sonne reuiued, was shewed to her.

The day wil sooner faile me then discourse, if I shal speake of all those places, which the venerable *Paula* visited with an incredible faith. I will passe on to *Egypt*, & I will stay a while in *Socoth*, and at the fountayne of *Sampson*, which he produced out of a great iaw tooth; and I will wash my dry mouth, and being so refreshed, will looke vpon *Morasth*, which anciently was the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Micheas*, & is now a Church.

And

And I will leaue, on the one side, the *Cherreans*, the *Getheans*, *Maresa*, *Idumea*, and *Lachis*; and by those deepe sands which euen draw the feet of trauailers from vnder them, and by that huge vastity of the desert, I wil come to *Sior* that riuer of *Egypt* which by interpretation is, *Troubled*; and I will passe by the fiue Cities of *Egypt*, which speake the Cananean tongue, and the land of *Gesse*, & the fieldes of *Tanais*, wherin God wrought wonderfull things; and the Citty of *No*, with grew afterward to be *Alexandria*; and *Nitria*, that towne of our Lord, where the filthines of many is daily washed away with the most pure Niter of vertue. Which when she saw, the holy and venerable Bishop and Confessour *Isidorus* coming to meet her, together with innumerable troupes of Monckes (amongst whome there were many, who were sublimed so farre, as to be Leuites and Priests) she reioyced indeed at the glory of our Lord, but confessed her self to be vnworthy of so great honour. How shall I be able to relate, of those *Macharios*, *Arsenios*, *Serapions*, and the rest of the names of those pillars of Christ. Into whose cell did she not eter? Before whose feet did she not fal? In euery one of the Saints she cõceiued her selfe to see Christ our Lord: & whatsoeuer she gaue thẽ, she reioyced in that she gaue it to our Lord. She expressed a strange ardour of minde, & a courage which was scarce credible to be in a womã. Being forgetfull of her sex, and of her corporall indispositions, she wished that she might dwell with her virgins, among so many thousands of Moncks. And perhaps she had obtayned it, through the great respects which they carryed to her, vnlesse a more earnest desire to reuiew the holy places had drawen her backe And by reason of those most excessiue heats she put her selfe to Sea, from *Pelusium*, to *Maioma*; and retourned with so great speed, that she might be thought to fly Soon after resoluing to remayne for euer in the holy *Bethlem*, she entertayned herselfe for three yeares in that straight lodging, till she had built Cels, and Monasteries, and diuers habitations for pilgrimes, neer that way, where *Mary* and *Ioseph* could find no place of entertainment. And this shall suffice for the description of her Iourney, which she performed with many virgins one of thẽ being her daughter.

But

But now let her vertue, which is properly her owne, be described more at large: in the declararation whereof, I professe before God, who is both my witnes, and my iudge, that I will adde nothing to the truth; nor amplify, after the manner of men who praise others; but rather say lesse, then I might, least els I may seem to speake incredible things; and be conceiued to deliuer vntruthes, and to adorne *Esopes* crow with colours belonging to other birds, in the conceit of my detracters, who are euer gnawing vpon me with a sharp tooth. She abased her selfe with so great humility (which is the chief vertue of Christians) that whosoeuer had not seen her before, and had desired to see her then, for the fame of her person, would neuer haue beleiued that she was her selfe, but the very poorest of her maydes. And when she was hemmed in with quiers of virgins, she would be the meanest of them all, both in cloathing, and speech, and behauiour, & rancke. From the death of her husband to the time of her owne death, she did neuer eat with any man, how holy soeuer he were; no not although he were placed in Episcopall dignity. She went not to any bathes, in but cases of danger of her life. Euen when she was oppresst with the most sharp feauers she lay vpō no soft beds; but she rested vpon the hard ground being only ouerspred with certeyn little poore cloathes of haire, if that indeed may be accounted rest, which coupled the dayes and nights, with almost continuall praiers, fulfilling that of the Psalme; *I will wash my bed euery night, and I will water my couch with teares*. And euen in that time of rest, you would take her eyes to be as some sluces of water; and so would she lament her least sinnes, as that you would esteeme her thereby to be guilty of most grieuous crimes. And when we would be often warning her, that she should take care of her eyes, and preserue them for the reading of holy scripture; she would vse to say, *That face is to be made vgly, which against the precept of God I haue so often daubed; That body is to be afflicted, which hath been treated with so much delicacy. A long laughter is to be recompenced with a constant lamentation. Soft linnen, and pretious stuffes of silke must be changed into ragged haire cloathes. I who haue pleased a husband and a world, desire now to please Christ.*

I.

If, in the company of her ſo many and ſo great vertues, I ſhall praiſe chaſtity in her, I may well ſeem ſuperfluous. For in this vertue, euen when ſhe was a ſecular womā, ſhe was the example of al the Matrons in *Rome*. Where ſhe behaued her ſelfe ſo, as that the report euen of wicked tongues, did neuer preſume to deuiſe any thing againſt her. There was nothing more pittifull then her minde, nothing more benigne towardes meane people. She courted not ſuch as were mighty, neither yet did ſhe faſtidiouſly deſpiſe ſuch as were proud, & affected the vanity of glory. If ſhe ſaw a poore body, ſhe relieued him; if a rich man, ſhe exhorted him to vſe charity. Only in liberality, ſhe exceeded meaſure; and whileſt ſhe was paying intereſt, ſhe would often borrow of one to diſcharge another, that ſo ſhe might ſtill haue ſome meanes, not to deny an almes to him who asked it. I confeſſe my errour: When I found her too open handed, I reprehended her with that ſaying of the Apoſtle, *Let not others be ſo comforted, as that your ſelues be afflicted therby; but doe it with diſcretion and weighing of circumſtances; that your abundance may be the relief of others wantes & their abundāce of yours.* And that of our Sauiour in the Ghoſpell, *Let him who hath two coates, giue one to him who hath none*; and I would tell her that we muſt procure, not to do that willingly, which we may not alwayes do; and many thinges of this kind. Which ſhe with an admirable modeſty, and moſt ſparing ſpeech, would yet diſcharge, calling God to witneſſe, that ſhe did all things for his ſake, and that ſhe had this earneſt deſire, that ſhe might dye begging; and that ſhe might not haue one penny to leaue her daughter; and that at her death, ſhe might be ſhrowded in the ſheet of anothers gift. For concluſion, ſhe ſaid, If I ſhal aske almes, I may find many who will giue it me, but if this begger haue not that of me, which I may afford him, euen out of anothers ſtore, and ſo ſhall chance to dy for want thereof, at whoſe hands ſhall his life be required? For my part I deſired her to be more cautious in the diſtribution of her temporall eſtat; but ſhe being more ardent in her faith, flew cloſe to her Sauiour, with her whole hart, & being poore in ſpirit, did follow her poore Lord; repaying him what ſhe had receiued, ſince he had bene made poore for her. In fine, ſhe obtayned what ſhe deſired,

& left her daughter in great debt, which hitherto she is owing, and confides not in her owne ſtrength, but in the mercy of Chriſt, that she shall be able to pay it.

It is vſuall with many of our Matrons, to beſtow their gifts at the ſound of the trumpet, and carrying a profuſe hand towardes ſome few, to withdraw their bounty from the reſt; from which vice she was wholy free. For ſo did she deuid her Charity among them all, as was neceſſary for euery one, not towardes exceſſe, but for neceſſity. No poore man could goe empry from her, which yet she was not able to compaſſe by the greatnes of her eſtate, but by her prudence in diſpenſing; and this she would euer be repeating, *Bleſſed be the merciſull; for they shall obtaine mercy*. And; *As water quenches fire, ſo doth almes extinguish ſinne*. And againe; *Make your ſelues friendes of the vniuſt Mammon, that they may receaue you into eternall Tabernacles*. And: *Giue almes, and behold all thinges are cleane to you*. And the wordes of *Daniel* admonishing *Nabuchodonozor* the King, *that he was to redeeme his ſinnes with almes*. She would not caſt away her money vpon theſe ſtones, which are to paſſe away with this world, but vpon thoſe liuing ſtones which rowle vp & down the earth; and wherof, in the *Apocalips of Iohn*, the Citty of the great King is buile; and which, as the Scripture ſayth, muſt be conuerted into *Saphires* and *Emmerolds*, and *Iaſpers*, and other gemmes.

But theſe thinges may be common to many: and the Diuell knowes, that the top of vertue is not placed in this Whereupon he ſayd to our Lord (after *Iob* had loſt his ſubſtance, after his houſe was ouerthrowne, after his children were ſlaine.) *A man would giue a skin for a skinne; and whatſoeuer he hath, for the ſauing of his life; but ſtretch forth thy hand, and touch his flesh and bones, and ſee if he will not curſe thee to thy face*. We know that very many haue giuen almes, who gaue nothing of their owne body; who haue ſtretched forth their handes to the poore, but yet haue beene ouercome by the pleaſures of the flesh; to haue painted the outſide, whileſt that within hath beene all full of dead bones. But *Paula*, was no ſuch perſon but was of ſo great abſtinence, that almoſt she exceeded meaſure, and contracted weaknes of body, by exceſſiue faſting & labour. For except

cept vpon holy dayes, she did scarce vse oyle in her meat; that by this one instance, it may be knowne what iudgment she made of wine, of sewet, or larde, and fish, & hony, and egges, and other things which are delightfull to the taste. For the very eating whereof, some take themselues to be extremely abstinent; and if they stuffe their belly with these thinges, they thinke their honesty is in safety.

But enuy euer followes vertue; and lightning strikes the highest hils. Neither is it any wonder, if I say this of men, since eue our Lord was crucified, through the zeale of the *Pharisees*; and since all Saints haue had Emulators, and since there was a serpent euen in Paradice, by whose enuy, *death entred into the world*. Our Lord had raised vp *Adad* the *Idumean*, who might giue her now and then a knocke, least she should extoll her selfe; and he admonished her often, and as it were with a kind of goad of the flesh, least the greatnes of her vertue might snatch her vp too high, and considering the vices of other women, she might thinke her selfe to be placed out of all reach. I would be saying to her, that she must yeild to that bitter enuy and giue place to madnes, which *Iacob* had done in the case of his brother *Esaw*; and *Dauid*, in that of *Saull* who was the most implacable of all enemyes; whereof the one flede into *Mesopotamia*, the other deliuered himselfe vp to strange people; choosing rather to be subiect to enemyes, then to enuyous persons. But she would be answering me thus. You might iustly say these thinges, if the diuell fought not euery where against the seruants and handmayds of God; & if he got not the start of them, in being the first at all those places whithersoeuer Christians went to fly. Though I were not deteyned here, by the loue of these holy places, and if I were able to find my *Bethle* in any other part of the world but this, yet whh should not I ouercome the bitternes of enuy with patience? Why should I not breake the necke of pride by humility? and to him who strikes one of my cheekes, offer him the other? *Paul* the Apostle, saying; *Ouercome you euill with good*. Did not the Apostles glory, when they *suffered contumely for our Lord*? Did not our Sauiour humble himselfe, taking the forme of a seruant & being made obedient to his father, euen to the death, and that the death of the

the crosse, that he might saue vs by his *Passion*? If *Iob* had not fought and ouercome in the battell, he had not receiued the crowne of iustice, nor heard this word of our Lord, *Doest thou thinke I had any other mind in proouing thee, then that thou mightest appeare iust*? They are said to be blessed in the Ghospell, who suffer persecution for iustice. Let our conscience be secure, that we suffer not for our sinnes; & then our affliction in this worl doth but serue vs for matter of reward.

If at any time any enemy of hers had bene malepert, and had proceeded so farre, as to offer her any iniury of words, she would resort to that of the Psalme, *VVhen the sinner set himselfe before me, I held my peace, and was silent euen from good thinges.* And againe; *I was like to a deafe person who heard not; and like one who being dumbe did not open his mouth*; and *I became as a man, who doth not heare, and hath not in his mouth any word of reproofe.*

In temptations she would frequent those wordes of Deutronomy, *Your Lord God tempteth you, that he may know whether you loue the Lord your God with your whole hart, & with your whole soule.* In afflictions and troubles she would repeat the words of *Esay*. *You who are weaned from milke; and taken from the tet, must expect tribulation vpon tribulation, and hope vpon hope. Yet expect a little, for the malice of lips, and for the wicked tongue.* And she would bring this testimony of scripture for her comfort, because it belongs to such as are weaned, and come to an estat of strength, to endure tribulation vpon tribulation, that they may deserue to haue *hope* vpon *hope*. *As knowing that tribulation works patience, patience probation, probation hope, and hope makes not ashamed; and that if the outward man grow into decay, yet the inward man may be renewed. And that this light and momentary tribulation of yours at the present, may worke an eternall waight of glory in you, who care not for the visible but for inuisible thinges; for those thinges which are visible are tẽporall, but those which are inuisible are eternall.* And that the time wil not be long (though our impatience may thinke it so) but quickle they shall see the help of God, saying to them, *I haue heard you in a fit tyme and I haue succoured you in the day of saluation*; and that crafty lips and wicked tongues were not to be feared, but that we must reioyce in our Lord and helper; and that we must heare him admonishing vs thus by his Prophet:

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Feare not the ſlaunders of men, & be not troubled at their blaſphemies; for the worme ſhall conſume them as it would doe a garment, and the moath ſhall deuoure them, as if they were woll. And by your patience you ſhall poſſeſſe your ſoules; And *The ſufferinges of this life, are not worthy of that future glory which ſhall be reuealed in vs.* And in an other place; *VVe muſt ſuffer tribulation vpon tribulation, that we may proceed with patience, in all thoſe thinges which happen to vs. For the patient man is full of wiſedome; but he who is pufill animous, is extremely a foole withall.*

In her frequent infirmities, and ſickeneſſes, ſhe would ſay: *VVhen I am weake, then am I ſtrongeſt, and we keep a treaſure in brickle veſſells, till this mortality of ours put on immortality, and this corruption be apparelled with incorruption.* And againe: *As the ſufferinges of Chriſt haue ſuperabounded in vs, ſo alſo hath conſolation aboũded in vs, through Chriſt.* And then againe: *As you are companions in ſuffering, ſo ſhall you alſo be in receauing comfort.*

In her ſorrowes ſhe would ſay thus: *VVhy, O my ſoule, art thou ſad, and why art thou troubled within me? Put thy truſt in God, for ſtill I will confeſſe to him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.* In her dangers ſhe would ſay: *He that will come after me, muſt deny himſelfe, and take vp his Croſſe and follow me.* And againe: *He that will ſaue his life ſhall looſe it; and he that for my ſake, will be content to looſe his life, ſhall ſaue it.* When ſhe ſuffered loſſes in her fortunes, and when the ouerthrow of all her patrimony was declared to her, ſhe ſayd: *But what doth it profit a man, if he gaine the whole world and hurt his owne ſoule withal? VVhat exchãge ſhall a man giue for his ſoule?* And; *Naked I came out of my Mothers wombe, and naked I ſhall returne; As it pleaſed our Lord ſo is it done, bleſſed be the name of our Lord.* And that other: *Do not loue the world, nor thoſe things which are in the world, for whatſoeuer is the world is the deſire of the fleſh the concupiſcence of the eyes, and the pride of this life, which is not of the father, but of the world; and the world paſſes with the cõcupiſcence therof.* For I know when her friends wrote to her of the dãgerous infirmities of her children, & eſpecially of her *Toxotius*, whome ſhe did moſt dearely loue, & when ſhe had effectually fullfilled that ſaying, *I am troubled, & haue not ſpoken*, ſhe broke forth with theſe wordes: *He who loues his ſonne, or his daughter more then me, is not worthy of me.* And praying to our

Lord she sayd: *Possesse thou, O Lord, the children of them who are mortifyed, and who mortify themselues daily for thy sake.*

I know a certaine Whisperer (and this is a most pestilent race of people) who tould her vnder the colour of good will, and care of her, that through the excessiue feruour of her vertue, she seemed mad to some; and that she were best looke to her head: to whome she answered thus; *VVe are made a spectacle to the world, to Angells, and to men; and we are fooles for Christ, but the folly of God, is wiser then men.* Whereupon our Sauiour sayth to his Father: *Thou knowest my simplicity.* And againe: *I am made like a kind of Monster to many, but thou art my strong helper, I am made as a beast before thee, and I am euer with thee.* He, whom in the Ghospell euen his neere friendes sought to bind, like a mad Man, and his aduersaries did bitterly taxe him, and say: *He hath a Diuell, and is a Samaritan; He casts out Diuels in Belzebub who is the prince of Diuells.* But let vs heare how the Apostle exhorts vs, saying: *This is our glory, the testimony of our conscience, because we haue conuersed in the world with sanctity and sincerity, & in the grace of God.* And let vs heare our Lord saying to the Apostles: *Therefore doth the world hate you, because you are not of the world, for if you were, the world would loue that which is his owne.* And to our Lord himselfe she would be turning her wordes, and saying: *Thou knowest the hidden thoughtes of the hart.* And: *All these thinges are come vpon vs, neither yet haue we forgotten thee, nor haue we done wickedly against thy will, nor is our hart turned backe frō thee.* And: *For thee are we mortifyed all the day long, and we are reputed as sheep, fit for slaughter.* But *Our Lord is my helper, and I will not feare what man can do to me.* For I haue read, *My sonne honour thou our Lord, and thou shalt be comforted, and besides our Lord, thou shalt feare none.*

By these and the like testimonies of Scripture (as if it had beene with some armour of God) did she defend her selfe against all ill opposition; but especially against cruell enuy; & by suffering iniuries, she would mitigate the fury of their enraged minds. In a word, her patience did appeare in al things euen to the day of her death: and so did the enuy of others, which euer gnawes vpon the harbourer thereof; and whilest it striues to hurt the contrary party it growes mad and most furious

rious vpon himselfe.

I will now speake of the order of her Monastery, & how she conuerted the pouerty of the Saints, into her owne gaine; *Shee sowed carnall thinges, that she might reap spirituall*. She gaue earthly things, that she might obtaine heauenly; she gaue temporall thinges, that she might exchange them for eternall. Besides a Monastery of men, which she assigned to be gouerned by men, she gathered many Virgins together out of diuers Prouinces; such as were very noble, such as were of midle ranke; and such as were of the meaneſt condition; and these, she diuided into three troupes of Monasteries; but yet so, as that being separated in their worke, and in their food, yet in their Psalmes and prayers they were ioyned. As soone as the *Alleluia* was sung, which was the signe whereby they were called together, it was lawfull for none to forbeare coming. But *Paula* being either the very first, or at least one of the first, would expect the arriuall of the rest; prouoking them so by her example to be diligent; and working vpon them, rather by the way of shame, then terrour. In the morning early, at the third houre, at the sixt, at the nynth, and at midnight, they sung the Psaltery in order. Neither was it lawful for any of the Sisters, to be ignorant of the Psalmes, and not to learne somewhat daily of the holy Scriptures. vpon the Sundaies only, they went forth to Church, at the side whereof they dwelt. And euery troupe followed their peculiar Mother, and from thence returning together, they attended to the worke which was appoynted, and made cloathes either for themselues, or others. Such a one as were of the nobler sort, was not permitted to haue any companion of her owne family, least being mindefull of former thinges they might refresh the auntient errours of their idle youthe, and renew them by often speech.

They went all in one habit or attire. They vsed no linne at all, but onely for the wiping of their hands. They were so perfectly seperated from men, as that she seuered them euen from Eunuches also, least otherwise occasion might haue bene giuen to ill tongued men, who are apt to carpe at Saints, for their owne greater priuiledge to sinne. If any of them came later to the Quier, or were more slacke in working the the rest,

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she would set vpon her seueral wayes. If she were cholericke, by faire language; if she were patient, by reprehension, imitating that of the Apostle, *what will you haue me do, shall I come to you with the rod, or in the spirit of lenity and meekenes?* Excepting food and cloathes, she suffered no one of them to haue any thing, according to S. Paul; *Hauing food and cloaths, be contented therewith*, least by the custome of hauing more, she should minister occasion to auarice, which is satisfyed with no wealth; and how much the more it hath, so much the more doth it require; and it is not lessened either by plenty, or pouerty Such as were fallen out amongst themselues, she would vnite, by her most milde manner of speech.

As for the vnbridlednes of the younger sort, she would tame their flesh, with frequent and double fasts, choosing rather to let their stomacks ake, then their minds. If she saw some one of them any thing curious or choyse, she would reproue that errour, by a contracted brow, and sad face, saying, That the affected cleanlines of the body and of cloathing, is vncleanes to the soule, and that an vndecent or immodest word, was neuer to proceed out of a virgins mouth; for by those signes, a lustfull mind is shewed, and by the outward man, the vices of the inward are declared. Whomsoeuer she obserued to be tatling, full of tongue, or forward, and delighted with brawles, and that being often admonished, she did not mend, she would make her pray in the hindermost rancke and sometimes out of the community of the *Sisters*; and againe at the doores of the *Refectory*; and to eat alone: To the end that whome chiding could not mend, shame might. She detested theft, like sacriledge. And whatsoeuer was accounted either little, or nothing amongst secular people, that did she esteem to be a most grieuous crime in Monasteries.

What shall I say of her pitty, & diligence about sicke persons, whome she cherished with strange obsequiousnes and seruice. And she who liberally affoarded all thinges to sicke folkes, and would also giue them flesh to eat; whensoeuer her selfe was sicke, she gaue her selfe no such liberties; and in that, seemed vniust, that being so full of pitty to others, she exercised so much seuerity vpon her selfe. There was none of the younger

younger sort healthfull and strong, who gaue her selfe to so much abstinence, as *Paula* did with that broken and aged and weake body of hers. I confesse that in this poynt, she was somewhat too peremptory; for she would not spare her selfe, nor hearken to any admonition. I will tell you what I know by experience. In *July*, when the heates were at the highest, she fell into a burning feauer, and when by the mercy of God she was recouering, after she had bene despaired of; and the Physitians were perswading her, that for the getting of some strēgth, she would vse a little wine, which was very small, least continuing to drinke water, she might grow hydropicke; & when I had priuately desired the blessed Pope *Epiphanius* to aduise, or rather to compell her to drinke wine, she as she was discret, & of a quicke piercing wit, did presently find that she was as it were betrayed; and smiling, declared that that was my doing, which was his saying. To be short, when the blessed Bishop, after hauing vsed much perswasion, was gone forth, & I was asking her, what he had done, she answered, *I haue gone so farre as that almost I haue perswaded the old man, that I might drinke no wine*. I haue related this particular, not that I allow of those burdens which are vndertaken inconsideratly, & aboue ones strength; for the scripture sayth, *Take not a burdem vpon thee*; but only to the end that I may proue euen hereby, the ardour of her mind, and the desires of her faithfull soule. And she said, *My soule thirst towards thee; and how plentifully doth my flesh also thirst*. A hard thing it is, to keep the meane in all things. And indeed, according to that sentence of the Philosopher, *vertue is in the meane*, and excesse is reputed vitious; which we expresse by one short little sentence, *Take not too much of any thing*.

She, who was so peremptory, and strict in the contempt of food; was tender in the occasions of her greif; and was euen defeated by the death of her friends, and especially of her children For in the death both of her husband, & of her daugters, she was euer in danger of her owne life. And though she would *Signe* both her mouth, and her brest, and procure to mollify a mothers grief by the impression of the Crosse, yet she was ouercome by her affection; and those bowels of a mother did euen astonish her tender hart: and though she were a conquerour in

her mind; yet she was conquered, by the frailty of her body: And once, vpon such an occasion, a sickness taking hold of her, did possesse her for so long a time, that it gaue care to vs, & daunger to her. But she reioyced, & said, *Miserable creature that I am, who shall free me from the body of this death?*

But here the discreet Reader will say, that I writ matter of reproofe, rather then praise. I take *Iesus* to witnes, whom she serued in deed, and whom I serue in desire, that I fayne nothing on either side; but that I deliuer truthes, as one Christian should do of another; and that I writ no *panegyricke*, but a story of her, and that those thinges which go for vices in her, would be vertues in an other. I call them vices according to the mind whereof I was, and to the desire of all the sisters, and brothers who loued her, and are looking for her now she is gone. But she *hath fulfilled her course, she hath kept the faith, & now enioyes the crowne of iustice, and followes the lambe where soeuer he goes.* She is now satisfyed to the full, because she was hungry; & she sings thus with ioy; *As we haue heard, so haue we seen it, in the Citty of the Lord of power, in the Citty of our God.*

O blessed change of things! she wept that she might for euer reioyce; she despised these leaking cesternes, that she might find the fountayne which is our Lord. She wore a haircloath, that now she might be apparelled in white roabes, & say, *Thou hast torne my sackloath, and hast apparelled me with ioy. She fed vpon ashes like bread, and she mingled her drinke with teares*, saying, *My teares were bread to me, day and night*, that she might feed for euer vpon the bread of Angels, & sing, *Taste & see how sweet our Lord is.* And *My hart hath earnestly vttered a good word; I consecrat my workes to the King.* And she saw those words of *Esay*, or rather the words of our Lord by *Esay*, fulfilled in her selfe, *Behold they who serue me, shall eat; but you shall be hungry: Behold they who serue me, shall drinke; but you shall be thirsty: Behold they who serue me shall reioyce; but you shall be shamefully afflicted: Behold they who serue me shall exult; but you shal cry out in the sorrow of your harts, & shall howle through the contrition of your spirit.*

I was saying that she euer fled from those leaking Cesternes, that she might find the fountayne which is our Lord, & might sing with ioy, *As the hart desires the fountaynes of water, so doth*

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my ſoule aſpire to thee, O my God: when ſhal I come & appeare before the face of God? I will therfore briefly touch, how ſhe auoyded thoſe durty lakes of the heretikes; and eſteemed them to be no better, ther Pagans. A certaine crafty old companion, and who in his owne opinion was a ſhrewd kind of ſchollar, begā, without my knowledge, to propound certaine queſtiōs to her, and ſay, *VVhat ſinne hath an Infant committed, that he ſhould be poſſeſſed by a Diuell? It what age ſhall we be when we are to riſe from the dead? If in the age when we dye ſome of vs will need nurſes after the reſurrection: If otherwiſe, it will not be a reſurrection of the dead, but a transformation of them, into others. Beſides, there will either be a diuerſity of the Sexes of man and woman, or there will be none. If there be, it will follow that there will be marriage, and carnall knowledge, yea and generation. If there be not, then, taking away the difference of Sex, they will not be the ſame bodies, which riſe againe: for an earthly habitation doth aggrauate and oppreſſe the vnderſtanding, which hath many thinges to thinke of; but they ſhall be ſpirituall, and ſubtill, according to the Apoſtle, The body is ſowed carnall, and it ſhall riſe ſpiritual.* By all which he deſired to proue that reaſonable ſoules, for certaine vices & auntient ſinnes, were ſlipped downe into bodies, and according to the diuerſity, and demerit of the ſame ſinnes were to be ſubiect to ſuch, or ſuch a condition; ſo that either he ſhould enioy health of body, or riches, and nobility of parents, or els ſhould fall into ſicke fleſh; or els by coming into poore houſes, might pay the puniſhment of thoſe antient ſinnes, & be ſhut vp in this preſent life, and in their bodies as in a priſon.

Which as ſoon as ſhe had heard, and related to me, letting me know who the man was, and that a neceſſity lay vpon me, of reſiſting this moſt wicked viper, & deſtroying the beaſt, whō the Pſalmiſt mentions ſaying, *Do not deliuer vp to beaſts, the ſoules of ſuch as confeſſe to the*; And *Rebuke O Lord, theſe beaſts of the reed, who writing iniquity, do ſpeake a ly againſt our Lord; and exalt their mouths againſt the moſt high.* I met with the man (& by his owne diſcourſe, whereby he procured to deceiue her, I ſhut him vp, by asking him this ſhort queſtion. *VVhether or no he beleiued the future reſurrection of the dead.* When he had anſwered that he did, I purſued him thus; Shall the ſame bodies riſe? or ſhall they be other? When he had ſaid the ſame; I asked him, whether in

the selfe same sexe, or in another? Vpon which question holding his peace (and tossing his head too & fro, like some snake least he should be hurt) because said I, you hold your peace, I will answere my selfe for you, and inferre the consequences. If a woman shall not rise as a woman, nor a man as a man, there will be no resurrection of the dead. For the sex implyes distinct parts, and the parts make vp a whole body; but if there be no sex, and parts; what will become of the resurrection of bodies, which consist not without parts, and sex? And then, if there be no resurrection of bodies, there can be no resurrection of the dead. But as for that also, which you obiect towching marriage, *If they shall be the same parts, it must follow that there will be marriage*, it is answered by our Sauiour saying, *You erre, not knowing the Scripture, not the vertue of God. For in the Resurrection of the dead, they shall neither marry, nor be married but shall be like the Angels of God*. In that he saith, they shall neither marry, nor be married, the diuersity of sex is shewed; for no man saith of wood, or stone, that they shall neither marry, nor be married; which are not capable of marriage; but of them who may marry, & yet forbeare to do it by the power & grace of Christ. If you reply and aske, *How then shall we be like to Angells, since among the Angells there is no difference of male and female?* I will answere you in few words. Our Lord doth not repromise to vs the substance, but the conuersation and felicity of Angells. As *Iohn Baptist*, euen before he was beheaded, was called an *Angell*; and all the Saints and Virgins of God, do expresse in themselues, the life of Angells, euen in this world. For when it is sayd: *You shall be like to Angels*, a resemblance is promised, but the nature is not changed. And answere me besides, how you interprete, *that Thomas touched the handes of our Lord, after the Resurrection, and saw his side boared through with a Lance?* And, *That Peter saw our Lord, standing vpon the sheare, and eating part of a broyled fish and a hony combe?* Certainly, he who stood, had feet; he who shewed a wounded side, had doubtles a belly, & breast, without which he could not haue sides, which must be contiguous to them both. He who spake, did speake with a tongue, a pallat, and with teeth. For as the quill hath relation to the stringes, so the tongue presses towards the teeth, and

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makes a vocall sound. He whose handes were felt, must by cō-sequence, haue armes. Since therefore he was sayd to haue all the parts, he must necessarily haue had the whole body, which is framed of the partes, and that no feminine, but masculine, that is, of the sexe wherein he dyed. If now you shall reply, that by the same reason we must eate after the Resurrection; and that our Lord entred in, when the doores were shut, against the nature of true, and solid bodies: giue eare a while. Do not draw our Fayth into reproach, by speaking of meat after the Resurrection. For our Lord bad them giue meat to the Daughter of the *Archisynagogue*, when she was raised again to life. And *Lazarus*, who had been dead foure dayes, is written to haue fed with him at the same table, least his Resurrection should be thought to be but a conceit. But if because he entred in while the dores were shut, you would therefore striue to proue, that his body was but aeriall and spirituall; by the same reason it must also haue beene but spiritual, before he suffered, because he walked then vpon the Sea, which is contrary to the nature of waighty bodyes. And the Apostle *Peter*, who also walked vpon the waters with a wauering pace, must be belieued to haue had but a spirituall body, wheras the strength & power of God, is shewed more, when any thing is done against nature. And to the end that you may know, that by the greatnes of wonders, not the change of nature, but the omnipotency of God is shewed; he who walked by fayth, began by infidelity to sinke downe, vnles the hand of our Lord had kept him vp, when he sayd: *VVhy dost thou doubt, O thou of little fayth?* But I marueile that you will haue so obstinate a mind when our Lord himselfe did say: *Bring in thy finger hither; and touch my handes; and reach forth thy hand, and put it into my side, and be not incredulous, but belieue.* And els where: *See my handes and my feet, for it is I. Feele and see, for a spirit hath no flesh and bones, as you see I haue.* And when he had sayd so, he shewed them his hands & his feet. I tell you of bones, and flesh, and handes, and feet; & you come talking to me of *Globes of the Stoickes*, and certaine doting fancies of the ayer. But if now you aske me, *VVhy an infant who neuer sinned, is possest by a Diuell? or of what age we shall be, whē we rise againe, since we dye of seuerall ages?* I shall answere you

good cheape with this; *The iudgments of God are a great abysse*: And *O the altitude of the riches of the wisedome, and knowledge of God how inscrutable are his iudgments, and how vnsearchable his wayes? For who hath knowne the sense of our Lord, or who hath beene called by him to counselle.*

But the diuersity of ages, doth not change the truth of bodies. For since our bodies doe continually change, and either encrease, or decrease, we shoud, by that reason, be euery one of vs, many men, as we daily vndergo changes; & I was an other being ten yeares old, an other at thirty, an other at fifty, an other now that I haue my whole head ful of hoary haires. Therfore according to the traditions of the Churches, and of the Apostle *Paul*, we must answere thus. *That we shall rise in perfect man, in the measure of the age of the fulnes of Christ*; in which age the Iewes conceiue *Adam* was created, and when we read that our Lord and Sauiour rose againe; besides many other proofes, which I brought out of both Testamẽts, wherewith to strãgle the hereticke. And from that time *Paula* did so beginne to detest the man, and all them, who were of his doctrine, that she proclamed them with a loud voice, to be the enemyes of our Lord Now these thinges I haue mentioned, not that I would briefly confute the heresy, which is to be answered in many volumes, but to the end I might shew the faith of so great a woman, as she was, who chose rather to vndergo the continuall emnities of men, then to prouoke the wrath of God, by entertayning such friendships as were faulty.

I will therefore say as I began, there was nothing more docile then her wit. She was slow to speake, & swift to heare, as being mindefull of this precept, *Hearken, O Israel, and hold thy peace*. She had the holy Scriptures without booke. And though she loued the historicall part thereof, and said *that it was the foundation, and the ground of truth*; yet she did much more affect the spirituall meaning of it and by that high sence she secured the edificatiõ of her soule. In fine she compelled me, that together with her daughter, she might read ouer both the old Testament, and the new, whilest I expounded it. Which I denying at the first for modesties sake, yet at last, in regard of her frequent desires, I was content to teach that, which I had learnt

learnt of my selfe; that is to say I learnt it not of presumptiō, which is the worst Master of all others, but of the most illustrious men of the Church. If at any time I were at a stand, & did ingenuously confesse myne owne ignorance, she would neuer leaue me in peace, but by a perpetuall kind of demaund, compel me to declare, out of many various opinions which seemed the most probable to me.

I will also speake of another particular which in the eye of enuious persons will seem to haue somewhat of the incredible. She had a mind to learne the *Hebrew tongue*, which I had gotten in some measure with much labour and sweat, from my very youth; and euen yet I do not forsake the study, with a kind of indefatigable meditation thereof, least I should grow to be forsaken by it. And she also hath so obtayned this tongue, as that she can read the psalmes in *Hebrew*, and pronounce the language, without any accent of the *Latin tongue*, which we also see euen to this day in her holy daughter *Eustochium*, who euer so adhered to her mother, and so liued vnder her comādments, that she neuer lodged, nor fed, nor went without her, nor had one penny in her power, but did reioyce to see that little fortune which was left of her Fathers and Mothers patrimony, to be bestowed by her Mother, vpon poore folkes; and she esteemed the duty she ought her parent, to be her greatest inheritance and riches.

I must not passe ouer in silence with how great ioy she did euē exult, when she heard that her grādchild the young *Paula*, who was begotten and borne of *Leta*, and *Toxotius*, yea & conceiued with a desire, and promise from them both, of future chastity, did sing forth *Allelluia* with her stammering tongue, in her cradle, in the middest of other childish toyes; & did breake forth the names of her grandmother, and her aunt, by halfe words. In this alone, she had still a desire concerning her coūtry, to know that her sonne, her daughter in law, & her grandchild, had renounced the world, and serued Christ our Lord: which in part she hath obtayned; for her grand-child is reserued to weare the vayle of Christ. Her daughter in law, deliuered her selfe ouer to eternall chastity; her sonne in law followes on in faith, almes, and other good workes; and endeauoureth to

expresse

expreſſe that at *Rome*, which ſhe hath accompliſhed at *Ieruſalem*.

But what do we, O my ſoule? why feareſt thou to come ſo farre as her end? Already the booke is growne big, whileſt we feare to come to this laſt caſt; as if whileſt we conceale it, & employ our ſelues vpon her praiſes, we were able to put off her death. Hitherto we haue ſayled with a fore-wind, & our ſliding ſhip hath plowed vp the criſping waues of the Sea at eaſe. But now my diſcourſe is falling vpon rockes, and I am in ſuch daũger of preſent ſhipwracke, as makes me ſay, *Saue vs, Maſter, for we perish*; And againe, *Riſe vp O Lord, why doeſt thou ſleep*. For who can with dry eyes ſpeake of *Paula* dying? She fel into extreame indiſpoſitiõ; or rather ſhe found what ſhe ſought in leauing vs, and in being more fully ioyned to our Lord. In which ſickneſſe, the approued dear affection of the daughter *Euſtochium* to her mother, was more confirmed in the eyes of al. She would be ſitting vpon the beds ſide, ſhe would hold the fanne, to moue the ayre; ſhe would beare vp her head, apply the piſſow, rubbe her feet, cheriſh her ſtomacke with her hand, compoſe her bed, warme water for her, bring the baſon, and preuent all the maydes in thoſe ſeruices; and whatſoeuer any other had done, to hold that ſhe her ſelfe had loſt ſo much of her own reward. With what kind of prayers, with what kind of lamentations and groanes, would ſhe be ſhooting her ſelfe ſwiftly vp and downe, between that caue where our Lord had bene layd, & her mother lying in her bed? that ſhe might not be depriued of ſuch an ineſtimable conuerſation, that ſhe might not liue an houre after her; & that the ſame Bier might deliuer them both vp to one burial. But O frayle and caduke nature of mortall men! for vnleſſe the faith of Chriſt raiſed vp to heauen, and that the eternity of the ſoule were promiſed, our bodies would be ſubiect to as meane condition, as beaſts, & they of the baſeſt kind. The ſame death ſeiſes vpon the iuſt, and wicked man; vpon the good and bad; the cleane and the vncleane; him who ſacrifices, and him who ſacrifices not: as the good man, ſo him who ſins; as him who ſweares, ſo him who feares to ſweare an oath. Both men & beaſts are diſſolued into duſt, and aſhes, after the ſame manner.

Why do I make any further paſſe, and encreaſe my ſor-

row

row by prolonging it? This most wise of women found, that death was at hand; and that some part of her body, and of her limmes being already cold, there was onely a little warmth of life, which weakely breathed in her holy brest; & yet neuertheles, as if she had bene but going to visit her friends, & take her leaue of strangers, she would be whispering out those verses; *O Lord, I haue loued the beautifull order of thy house, & the place of the habitation of thy glory.* And; *How beloued are thy tabernacles, O God of power; my soule hath euen fayneted, with an amorous kind of desire of entring into the Court of thy house.* And *I haue chosen to be an abiect in the house of my God, rather then to dwell in the tabernacles of sinners.* And when, vpon occasion, I would be asking her why she was silent, and would not answere; & whither she were in any payne or no? she answered me in *Greeke*, *That she had no trouble, but that she saw all things before her, in tranquility & peace.* After this, she was silent and shutting her eyes, as one who, by this time, despised mortall thinges, she repeated those verses aforesaid, but yet so, that it was as much as we could do to heare her: and then applying her finger to her mouth, she made the signe of a Crosse, vpon her lippes. Her spirit fainted, and panted apace towards death; and her soule euen earnest to breake out, she conuerted the very rattling of her throate, wherewith mortall creatures vse to end their life, into the praises of our Lord. There were present, the Bishops of *Ierusalem*, and of other Cities, and an innumerable multitude of Priests, and Leuites of inferiour ranke: All the Monastery was filled with whole Quiers of virgins, and Monks. And as soon as she heard the *Spouse* calling thus, *Rise vp and come, O thou my neighbour, my beautifull creature, and my doue; for behold the winter is spent, and past and the rayne is gone*, she answered thus with ioy. *The flowers haue appeared in our Land, the time of pruning is come, and I voluntarily should shew the good thinges of my Lord, in the land of the liuing.*

From that time forward, there was no lamentation, nor dolefull crye, as is wont to be vpon the death of men of this world, but there were whole swarmes of people, who chated out the Psalmes in different tongues. And *Paula* body, being translated by the hands of Bishops, as they bending their necks

vnder the Bier, whilest some other Bishops carryed lampes, & tapers before the body, and others led on the Quiers of them who sung, she was layd in the midle of her Church of the Natiuity of our B. Sauiour. The whole troope of the Cities of *Palestine* came in, to her funerall. Which of the most hidden Moncks of the wilderne, was kept in by his Cell? which of the virgins, was then hidden vp by the most secret roome she had? He thought himself to commit sacriledge, who performed not that last Office, to such a creature. The widowes and the poore, after the example of *Dorcas*, shewed the cloathes which she had giuen them. The whole multitude of needy people cryed out, that they had lost their mother and their nurse. And which is strange, the palenes of death had not changed her face at all; but a certaine dignity and decency did so possesse her countenance, that you would not haue thought her dead, but sleeping. The *Psalmes* were sounded forth in order, in the *Hebrew*, and Greeke, and Latin, & in the Syrian tongue, not onely for those three dayes, till her body was interred, vnder the Church, and neer the caue of our Lord: but during the whole weeke all they who came in, did the like beleiuing best in those funerals which themselues made, and in their owne teares. The venerable virgin, her daughter *Eustochium*, like an infant weaned from her nurse, could scarce be drawen from her mother. She kissed her eyes, and euen adhered to her face, and embraced her whole body, and euen would haue bene buryed with her mother. I take Iesus to witnes, that there remayned not one penny to her daughter, but as I said before, she left her deeply in debt; and (which yet is matter of more difficulty) an immense multitude of brothers and sisters, whom it was hard to feed, and impious to put away.

What is more admirable then this, a woman of a most noble family, endued (now with a single state, should haue giuen away all she had, with so great faith as to be come almost to the very extremity of pouerty? Her others brag of their moneyes, and of alms cast into the poore mans boxe, & of the Presents which they haue hung vpon tapes of gold. No one hath giuen more to the poore, then this lady reserued nothing to her selfe. Now she enioyes riches, and those good

thinges,

thinges, which *neither the eye hath seen, nor the eare hath heard, nor hath it ascended into the hart of man.* We lament our owne case, & we shall seem but to enuy her glory, if we lament her longer, who is raigning. Be you secure, O *Eustochium*, that you are enriched with a great inheritance. Our Lord is your part; and to the end that your ioy may be the more complet, your mother is crowned with a long martyrdome. For not only is the effusion of blood reputed for such a confession, but the vnspotted seruice of a deuout mind, is a daily martyrdome. The former crowne is wreathed, & made of roses, and violets, the later of lillies. Wherupon it is written in the, *Canticle of Canticles, My beloued is whit and red*; bestowing the same rewardes vpon such as ouercome, whether it be in peace, or warre. Your mother heard these words with *Abraham, Go forth of thy country, & of thy kinred, and come into the land, which I will shew the*; and she heard our Lord commanding thus by *Ieremy*, *Fly you out of the middle of Babylon and saue your soules*. And till the very day of her death, she returned not into *Chaldea*, nor did she couet the pots of *Egypt*, nor that stincking flesh; but being accõpanyed with quiers of Virgins, is made a fellow-Citizen of our Sauiour; & ascending vp to those heauenly kingdomes from the litle *Bethleem*, she saith to that true *Noemi*, *Thy People is my people, & thy God my God.*

I haue dictated this booke for you, at two sittings vp. with the same grief which you selfe susteynes. For as often as I put my selfe to writ, and to performe the worke which I had promised, so often did my fingars growe numme, my hād faynted, my wit fayled, and euen my vnpolished speech, so farre from any elegancy or conceit of words, doth witnes well in what case the writer was. *Farewel O Paula*, & helpe thou by thy prayers, this last part of his ould age, who beares thee a religious reuerence. Thy faith and vertues, haue ioyned thee in societ to Christ; and now being present, thou wilt more easily obtayne what thou desireft. I haue finished thy monnment, which no age will be able to destroy. I haue cut thy *Elogium* vpon thy sepulcher: and I haue placed it at the foot of this volume, that wherefoeuer our worke shal arriue, the Reader may vnderstand, that thou were praised, and that thou art buryed in *Berhleem*.

The Title written on the Tombe.

She, whom the Paules got, the Scipio's bore,
The Gracche's, and great Agamemnons race,
Lyes here intomb'd, cal'd Paula heretofore,
Eustochiums mother, Court of Romes chief grace.
Seekes for Christ poore, and Bethleems rurall face.

Written vpon the Front of the Grot.

Seest thou cut out of rocke, this narrow tombe?
T'is Paulas house; who now in heauen remaynes;
And leauing brother, kinred, country, Rome,
Children, and wealth, in Bethleme grot remaynes.
Here in thy crib, O Christ, heue vnprofaned
The Magi Presents brought, to God incensed.

The holy and blessed *Paula*, departed this life vpon the seauenth of the Kalends of *February*, on the Tuesday after Sunset. She was buryed on the fifth of the Kalends, of the same moneth, *Honorius Augustus* being the sixt time Consull, and fellow Consull with *Aristenus*. She lined in her holy purpose fiue yeares at *Rome*, and twenty yeares at *Bethleem*. She had in all, fifty six yeares of age, eight moneths, and one and twenty daies.

S. Hierome to Nepotianus of the life which a Priest ought to lead. Whereof I haue omitted the former part or rather Preface, which is both very long, and but personal, and not belonging at all to the chiefe matter in hand, which is, what lines Priests are to leade.

HARKEN, as the Blessed *Cyprian* aduises, not to such things as are eloquently deliuered; but to such as haue strength and truth in them: I hearken to him, who in function is your brother, in age your father, who brings you from the swathing

swathing cloutes of faith, to a perfect age, and who setting downe rules throughout all the steps of your life, may instruct others also, by your meanes. I well know, that both already you haue learned such things as are holy, & that you are dayly learning them, of the Blessed man *Heliodorus*, your vncle, who is now a Bishop of Christ; and the example of whose vertue, may be the very rule of a mans life. But yet accept of these our endeauours how poore soeuer they may be, & ioyne you this booke to his; that as he instructed you how you might be a Monke, this may teach you how to be a perfect Priest.

A Priest therfore, who serues the Church of Christ, let him first interpret that word; and when he hath defined the same, let him strine to be that very thing, which the word signifyes For if the word κλῆρος in greeke, do signify *portion* in Latin, then it will follow, that Priests are called so, either because they are of the *portion* of our Lord, or els because our Lord is the *portion* or part of Priests. But he who either is the *part* of our Lord, or who hath our Lord for his *part*, ought to shew himselfe to be such an one, as that he possesses our Lord, & is possessed of our Lord. He who possesses our Lord, & saith with the Prophet, Our Lord is my *part*, can possesse nothing but our Lord; and if he will haue any thing besides him, our Lord wil not be his part. As for example, if he will haue gold, siluer, or choice of costly houshould stuffe, our Lord with these *Partes*, will not vouchafe to be his *Parte*. And if I be the parte of our Lord, and the bounder wherby his inheritance is measured and do not take a *Parte* amongst the rest of the Tribes, but as a Leuit and Preist, do liue of the Tenthes, and seruing the Altar do liue vpon the oblations of the Altar, if I may haue *food, and cloathing, I will be content therewith*, and being naked I will follow the naked Crosse; I beseech you therefore, and repeating my suit to you againe and againe, I will admonish you, that you think not the Office of Priesthood, to be a kind of warefare, after the old fashion; that is to say that you seeke not the commodities of the world in the warfare of Christ, & that you procure not to be richer, then when you began to be a Priest, & that it be not said of you, *Their Priestes haue not lesse of prose to them.* For many haue bene richer being Monkes, then when

when they were secular persons and Priests. There are some who possesse more riches now in the seruice of Christ being poore, then formerly they possessed by their seruice vnder the rich and false diuell: and the Church doth euen groane with their being rich, whom before, the world knew for beggers.

Let your table be frequented by poore people, and Pilgrimes; & let Christ be a guest with them. See you fly as you would do the plague, any Priest who is a negociator of affairs, and who growes rich of poore, and glorious instead of base; *Ill speech corrupts good manners.* You contemne gold, an other mā loues it; you tread riches vnder your feet, an other man hunts after it; you cordially loue silence, meekenes, recollection, but another likes prating, and bouldnes, and takes no pleasure but in streetes, market-places, fayres, and to be sitting in Apothecaryes shoppes. In such a difference of manners, what agreement can there be?

Let your house either seldome or neuer be troden vpon by woemens feet; and be you either equally ignorant, or doe you equally like, all the maydes and virgins of Christ. Doe not dwell with them vnder the same roofe, and presume not vpon your former chastity. You are not holyer then *David*, nor can you be wiser then *Salomon*. Be euer remembring, how a woman cast the inhabitant of Paradise out of his possession. When you are sicke, let some deuout brother of yours assist you and some sister, or your mother, or some other woman, who is of vntouched fame, with the world. If you haue not perhapes of your consaguinity, who are withal of piety, the Church entertaines many old widowes, who may performe that duty, and receiue some benefit by their seruice; that so your sicknes may also inable you to gather their fruit of almes. I know of some, who haue recouered in body, and begun to fall sicke in mind. She affordes you a dangerous kind of seruice, vpon whose countenance, yquare often looking with attention. If in regard you are a Priest, some Virgin or widow must needes be visited by you, yet neuer goe into their house alone. Take such company with you, as may not defame you by their society. If some *Lector*, or some *Acolythus* or some other who hath the Office of singing in the Church follow you, let them not

be adorned with cloathes, but good conditions; nor haue they haire curled with irons, but promise vertue by the very appearance of their persons. Sit neuer with any woman alone in secret, and without some witnes or looker on. If you be to say any thing in familiar manner, the woman hath some auntient person belonging to the house, or some Virgin, or wife, or widow, she is not so inhumane, as that she hath none besides you with whome she dares trust her selfe. See you be carefull of giuing no ground to suspicions, and procure to preuent whatsoeuer may probably be deuised against you. A holy affection doth not admit the vse of frequent Presents & handkerchiues, and scarfes, and garments which haue bene kissed, and meat which hath beene tasted to your hand, nor the changing of certaine deare delightfull letters. These wordes, *My light, my hony, my desire*, and all those delicacies, and conceits and certaine ciuilities, which deserue to be derided, and the rest of those toyes of louers we blush at euen in Comedies, we detest euen in secular men, and therefore how much more are we to doe it in the case of Monkes, & Priests, whose Priesthood is adorned by their Chastity, and their Chastity by their Priesthood. Neither do I say thus much, as fearing these thinges in you, or in holy men, but because there are found good, and bad, in euery course, in euery degree, and sexe, and the condemnation of the wicked serues for the comendation of the good. I am ashamed to speake of these men, who might better be the Priests of Idolls.

Iesters, carters, and queanes may inherit landes; only Priestes, and Monkes may not: and this is prohibited, not by persecutours, but by Christian Princes. Nor doe I complaine against the law, but I am sorry we haue deserued, that such a law should be made. A cautery is a good remedy, but why should I haue a wound, which must stand in need of such a cure? The caution of the law is not only prouident but seuere; yet couetousnes is not bridled euen thereby. We ouerreach the lawes by certaine deeds made in trust, and as if the Ordinations of Emperours were of more authority then they of Christ: we feare their lawes, & we contemne his Ghospels. Let there be an heire, but withal let there be the mother of the chil-

children; that is to say, the Church of the flocke, which hath bred, nourished, and fed them. Why do we interpose our selues between the mother and the children? It is the glory of a Bishop, to prouid for the comodities of poore people, and it is the ignominy of Priests to attēd to acquire riches. I who was borne in a poore house, or rather in a country cottage, who scarce had meanes to fill my windy stomacke with the basest grayne, and rye bread, can now scarce thinke of the finest flower, & hony, with contentment. I am also come to know the names, and kindes of fishes; yea and vpon what part of the coast, such a shell fish was taken; and in the taste of foule I decerne the difference of countryes; & the rarity of those meates, yea and euen the very hurt they do men by dearly buying thē, delights me.

I vnderstand besides, that some Priestes, performe certen base seruices to old men and woemen, who haue no children. They hold the spitting bason, they beseige the bed round about, and they take sometimes, the steame of the lungs, & the rotten filth of the stomacke, in their very hands. They tremble when the Physitian comes to make his visit, and their lips shake with feare, when they aske him, if the sicke man be mended; & if the old man, chance to be grown better or stronger, themselues are indangered by it. For taking a face of ioy vpon them, their couetous mind is racke within, as fearing least they may loose their hope of gayne, but then agayne they will needes compare the liuely old man, to *Mathusalem*, O how great would their reward be, at the hand of God, if they expected no reward in this life! What sweating doth the getting of such a poore inheritance cost! the pearle of Christ, might be sought at an easyer rate.

Be diligent in reading the holy Scriptures, or rather, let that diuine booke be neuer layd out of your handes. Learne that which you are to teach. Procure to be able to vse that faythfull speech, which is according to knowledge, that you may be able to exhort men, with sound doctrine, and so confute such as contradict you. Stand fast in those thinges which you haue learned, and which are committed to you in trust, as knowing of whome you learned them; and be euer ready to

giue

giue satisfaction to all such as demand a reason at your handes, of that fayth and hope which is in you. Let not your ill deeds put your wordes out of countenance; least some body who heares you speake at Church, make this answere to you within himselfe; *VVhy do you not practise what you say?* He is a delicate instructer, who discourses of fasting, when his belly is full. Euen a murdering theefe may be able to cry out against couetousnes. Let the mind and the handes of the Priest of Christ keep correspondence with his mouth.

Be subiect to your Bishop, and reuere him as the Father of your soule. It is for a sonne to loue, and for a slaue to feare. *If I be thy Father*, sayth he, *where is myne honour; if I be thy Lord, where is that feare which is due to me?* In his person which is but one, there are many seuerall titles to be considered by you: a Monke, a Bishop, an Vncle of your owne, who already hath instructed you, concerning all good thinges. You shall also know, that Bishops must vnderstand themselues to be Priests, and not Lordes; let them honour Priests, as Priests, that Priests may deferre all due honour to them, as to Bishops. That of the Oratour *Domitius* is vulgarly knowne; *VVhy should I carry my selfe towardes you, as towardes a Prince, when you regard not me as a Senatour?* That which *Aaron* and his sonnes were, in relation to one an other, that must the Bishop, and the Priests be. *There is one Lord, and one Temple*, and the mystery also must be one. Let vs euer remember what the Apostle *Peter* enioyneth Priests; *Feed that flocke of our Lord, which is among you, prouiding for it according to God, not after a compulsion, but free and chearefull manner, not for filthy lucres sake, but willingly; nor as exercising dominion ouer the Clergy, but after the forme of a shepheard ouer his flocke, to the end that when the Prince of Pastours shall appeare, you may receiue an immarcessible crowne of glory.*

It is an extreame ill custome in some Churches, that Priests are silent, and refuse to speake in the presence of Bishops, as if Bishops enuyed them so much honour, or would not vouchsafe to heare them. But *S. Paul* sayth, *If a thing be reuealed to any man who sits by, let the former hold his peace.* For you may prophecy by turnes, that all may learne, and all may be comforted, and the spirit of Prophets, is subiect to Pro-

phets; for God is not a God of diſſention, but of peace. It is a glory to the Father, when he hath a wiſe ſonne, and let a Biſhop take comfort in his owne iudgement, when he hath choſen ſuch Prieſts, for the ſeruice of Chriſt. When you are preaching in the Church, let not the people make a noyſe, but let them profoundly ſigh. Let the teares of yours Auditours, be your prayſe. Let the diſcourſe of a Prieſt, be ſeaſoned by reading holy Scripture. I will not haue you a declamer, nor a iangler, nor to be full of talke without reaſon; but skillfull in the myſteries, & moſt excellently inſtructed in the Sacraments of your God. It is the vſe of vnlearned men, to toſſe wordes vp and downe, and by a ſwift kind of ſpeech, in the eares of an vnskillfull Auditory, to hunt after admiration. A bold man will interpret many tymes he knowes not what, and in the perſwaſion which he vſes to others, he arrogates the reputation of knowledge to himſelfe. *Gregory Nazianzen* myne old Maſter, being deſired by me to expound what that *Sabboth*, called δευτεόπρωτον, meant in *Luke*, he did elegantly allude thus; *I will inſtruct you about this buſines, when we are at Church; where the whole people applauding me, you ſhall be forced whether you will or no, to know that, whereof you are ignorant now*. There is nothing ſo eaſy, as to deceiue a poore baſe people, and an vnlearned aſſembly, by volubility of ſpeech, which admires whatſoeuer it vnderſtands not. *Marcus Tullius* (of whome this excellent *Elogium* was vſed, *Demoſthenes deprined you of being the firſt Orator, & you him of being the only Orator*) ſayth that in his Oration for *Quintus Gallus*, concerning the fauour of the people, and ſuch as ſpeake abſurdly before them, which I would fayne haue you marke, leaſt you ſhould be abuſed by theſe errours. I ſpeake of that, whereof my ſelfe haue lately had experience. A certaine *Poet*, a man of name and learned (who made certaine Dialogues of Poets and Philoſophers) when in one and the ſame place, he bringes in *Euripides*, and *Menander*, and *Socrates*, and *Epicurus*, diſcourſing altogether one with another, whom yet we know to haue liued, not only at different tymes, but in different ages, what applauſes and acclamations did he moue? For in the *Theatre*, he had many condiſciples who performed not their ſtudies together.

Be

Be as carefull to auoid blacke course cloathes as white. Fly from affected ornaments, at as full speed, as you would do from affected vncleanes; for the one of them sauours of delicacy, the other hath a taste of vaine glory. It is a commendable thing, I say not, to vse no linnen, but not be worth any: for otherwise it is a ridiculous thing, and full of infamy to haue the purse well filled, & then to bragge, that you are not worth so much as a handkerchiue. There are some who giue some little thing to the poore, to the end that they may receiue more, and some man seekes after wealth, vnder the pretence of vsing Charity; which is rather to be accounted a kind of hũting then almes-giuing. So are beasts and birds, and so are fishes taken. Some little bayte is layd vpon the hooke, that the money bagge of the Matrons, may be brought forth vpon that hooke.

Let the Bishop, to whome the care of the Church is committed, consider whome he appointes to ouersee the dispensation of goodes, to the poore. For it is better for a man not to haue any thing to giue away, then impudently to begge somwhat, for himselfe to hide. Nay it is a kind of arrogancy, for one to seeme more meeke, and mercifull then the Priest of Christ is. We cannot all do all thinges; some one is an eye in the Church, an other is a tongue, an other a hand, an other is a foot, an eare, or a belly, and so forth. Read the Epistle of *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, *How diuers members serue to constitute one body*. But yet let not the rusticke, and simple man, thinke himselfe to be holy, because he knowes nothing; nor if a man be eloquent and skillfull, must he esteeme that he hath as much sanctity, as he hath tongue; and of the two defects, it is much better that he haue a holy rudenes, then a sinfull eloquence.

Many build vp wals, and raise pillars in Churches, the marbles shine, the roofes glister with gold, the Altar is set with pretious stones, and the while, no care is taken, to chose fit Ministers for Christ. Let no man obiect to me, that rich temple of the Iewes, the Table, the Lampes, the Incensories, the Basons, the Cuppes, the Morters, and other thinges, made of gold. Then were these thinges approued by our Lord, when the Priest did immolat sacrifices, and when the blood of beasts

was the redemption of sinnes. Though all these things did go before in figure, yet *they were written for our instruction, vpon whō the ends of the world are come*. But now, when our Lord, by being poore, hath dedicated the pouerty of his house, let vs thinke vpon his Crosse, and esteem of riches, as of durt. What marueile is it, that Christ called riches by the name of *vniust Mammon?* Why should we admire and loue that, which *Peter* doth euen after a kind of glorious manner professe himselfe not to haue? For other wise, if we onely follow the letter, and that yet the apparance of the history, speaking of gold and riches, delight vs; then together with the gold let vs take vp other thinges too; and let the Bishop of Christ, marry virgins, and make them their wiues. If that argumēt, I say, be to hold, then let him who hath any skarre, or other corporall deformity be depriued of his Priesthood, though he haue a vertuous minde, & let the leprosy of the body be accounted a worse thing then the vices of the soule Let vs encrease, and multiply, and fil the earth, and let vs not sacrifice the lambe, nor celebrat the mysticall Pascha, because these thinges are forbidden by the law, to be done any other where, then in the *Temple*. *Let vs fasten the tabernacle in the seauenth moneth, and let vs chant out the solemne fast, with the sound of the cornet*. But now if comparing all these to spirituall thinges and knowing with *Paul*; *that the law is spirituall*; and that the words of *Dauid* are true, who sings thus; *Open thou myne eyes, and I will consider the wonderfull thinges of thy law*; we vnderstand them as our Lord also vnderstood them, and as he interpreted the Sabboth; either let vs despise gold with the rest of the superstitions of the Iewes; or else if we shall like gold, let vs also like the Iewes, whom of necessity we must either like, or dislike; together with the gold.

The Feasting of secular persons, and especially of such as swell vp in high place of honour, must be auoyded by you. It is an vgly thing, that before the doores of a Priest of Christ crucifyed, (who was so poore, and had no meat of his owne) the Officers of Cōsuls, & bands of souldiers should stand wayting; and that the gouernour of the Prouince should dine better at your house, then at the Court. And if you shall pretend, that you do such thinges as these, to the end that you may obtaine

tayne fauour for inferiour and miſerable people; know that a temporall Iudge will deferre more to a mortifyed Prieſt, then to a rich one; & will carry more veneratiō to your vertue, thē to your wealth. Or if he be ſuch a one, as that he will not fauour Prieſts ſpeaking for afflicted perſons, but whē he is in the middeſt of his cups, I ſhall be well content to want the obtayning of ſuch a ſuit; and will pray to Chriſt in ſteed of the Iudge, who can helpe me better, and ſooner then he. *It is better to confide in our Lord, then to confide in man. It is better to hope in our Lord, then to hope in Princes.* So that your breath do not ſo much as ſmel of wine, leaſt you deſerue to heare that ſaying of the Philoſopher, *This is not to giue me a kiſſe, but to drinke to me in wine.* As for Prieſts, who are winebibbers, both the Apoſtle condemnes them, and the old Lawe forbids them, ſaying, *They who ſerue at the Altar, muſt drinke no wine, or Sicera*; by which word *Sicera*; in the hebrew tongue, al ſuch drinkes are meant, wherby any man may be inebriated; whether they be made of wheat, or of the ioyce of fruit, or when together with fruit they take hony, and make a ſweet and barbarous potion thereof, or els ſtrayne the fruit of palmes till they yeeld liquore; or by the boyling vp of corne, giue a different colour and ſtrength to water. Whatſoeuer may inebriat, and ouerthrowe the ſtate of the mind, you muſt auoid, with as much care, as you would do wine. Neither yet do I ſay this, as condemning the creature of God, ſince our Lord himſelfe was called a drinker of wine; and the taking of a little wine was permitted to the weake ſtomacke of *Timothy*; but we require a moderation in the vſe thereof, according to the quality of conſtitutions, and to the proportion of age, and health. But yet, if without wine I burne with youth, and am inflamed by the heat of my blood, and am indued with a young & a ſtrong body, I will gladly ſpare that cuppe, wherin there is ſuſpition of poyſon. It ſounds elegantly in Greeke, but I know not whether it will carry the ſame grace with vs, *A fat full belly, doth not beget a ſlender and well proportioned mind.*

Impoſe as great a meaſure of faſting vpon your ſelfe; as you are able to beare. Let you Faſts be pure, chaſt, ſimple, moderat, and not ſuperſtitious. To what purpoſe is it, that a man will needes forbeare the vſe of Oyle; & then vndergo certaine

vexations, and difficulties, how to get and make meat, which he may eat; as dryed figs, pepper, nuts, the fruit of palmes, hony, and piſtacho's? The whole huſbandry of the kitchin gardens is vexed from one end to the other, that forſooth we may be able to abſteyne from ſo much as rye bread; and whileſt we hunt after delicacies, we are drawen backe from the kingdome of heauen. I heare beſides, that there are certaine perſons, who contrary to the nature of men and other creatures, will drinke no water, & eate no bread; but they muſt haue certaine delicat little drinkes, and ſhred herbes, and the ioyce of beetes; and that forſooth, they will not drinke in a cup, but needes in the ſhell of ſome fiſh. Fy vpon this ſhaméfull abſurdity, and that we bluſh not at theſe follies; & are not weary with ſcorne of theſe ſuperſtitions, beſides that we ſeeke for a fame of abſtinence, euen in the vſe of delicacy. The moſt ſtrong faſt of all others, is of bread and water. But becauſe it carryes not ſuch honour with it, becauſe we all liue with the vſe of water and bread, it is ſcarce thought to be a faſt, in regard that it is ſo vſuall and common. Take heed you hunt not after certaine little eſtimations of men, leaſt you make purchaſe of the people praiſe with the offence of God. *If yet* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *I ſhould pleaſe men, I ſhould not be the ſeruant of Chriſt*. He ceaſed from pleaſing men, & became the ſeruant of Chriſt. The ſouldier of Chriſt marches on, both through good fame and bad, both by the right hand and by the left; & is nether extolled by praiſe, nor is he beaten downe by diſpraiſe. He doth not ſwell vp with riches, nor is he extenuated by pouerty; & he contemnes both thoſe thinges, which might gaine him ioy, and thoſe alſo which may afflict. *The ſonne burnes him not by day, nor the Moone by night*.

I will not haue you pray in the cornes of ſtreetes, leaſt the ayre of a popular fame ſhould diuert you prayers, from the right way to their Iournyes end. I will not haue you inlarge the borders, nor make oſtentatiõ of the skirtes of you garmẽts, and againſt your conſcience to be enuironed by a Phariſaicall kind of ambition. How much better were it, not to carry theſe things in the exteriour, but at the hart; and to obtayne fauour in the ſight of God, rather then in the eyes of men? Hereupon hange

hange the Ghospell, hereupon the law and the Prophets, and the holy and Apostolicall doctsine; for it is better to carry all these thinges in the mind, then in the body. You who reade this faithfully with me according to a faithfull and right intention, do vnderstand euen that which I conceale; & which I speake so much the louder, euen because I am silent. You must haue an eye to as many rules, as you may be tempted with kindes of glory.

Will you know what kind of ornaments our Lord desires to se in you? Procure to haue Prudence, Iustice, Temperance, and Fortitude. Be you enclosed by these coasts of the sky. Let this charriot of foure horses carry you on with speed, to the end of the race, Let the charriot driuenes by Christ. There is nothing more pretious then this Iewell, nothing more beautifull then the variety of these pretious stones. You shall be beautifyed on euery side; you shall be compassed in, and protected; they will both defend you, and adorne you, & these gemmes will become bucklers to you.

Take you also heed, that you neither haue an itching tongue, nor eats; that is to say, that neither your selfe detract from others, nor that you endure to heare detracters. *Sitting* (saith he) *thou spakest against thy brother, and thou laydst scandall before the sonne of thy mother; these thinges dideſt thou, & I held my peace. Thou dideſt wickedly think, that I would be like thee: but I will reproue thee before thy face.* Take care that you haue not a detracting tongue, and be watchfull ouer your wordes; and know that you are iudged by your owne conscience, in all those thinges which you speake of others, and of those things, which you condemned in other folkes, your selfe is found guilty. Nor is that a iust excuse, when you say that you do no wrong, when you do but heare the report of others, No man reports thinges to an other, who hears them vnwillingly. An arrow enters not into a stone; but starting backe, sometimes it hurts him who shot it. Let the detracter learne, that he is not to detract in your hearing, whome he findes to heare him so vnwillingly. *Doe not mingle your selfe*, saith Salomon, *with detracteurs, because his destruction shall come suddenly, and who knowes how soone they shall both be ruined*, that is to say, he who detracts, and he who

giues

giues audience to detracters. It is your duty ro visit the sicke, to be well acquainted with the houses of Matrons and their children, & to keep safe the secret of great persons. It is your duty not onely to haue chast eyes, but a chast tongue also.

You must neuer dispute nor argue of the beauties of woemen; nor euer let any house vnderstand by you, what hath passed in any other house. *Hippocrates* adiured his disciple before he taught them, and made them sweare to follow his directions, and commanded them religiously to promise silence; and prescribed the speech, the gate, the habit, and the conuersation, which they were to vse. How much more must we, to whom the charge of soules is cõmitted; loue the houses of all Christians, as our owne. Let them know vs to be rather comforters of them in their afflictions, then companions and feasters with them in their prosperity. That Priest is ordinarily contemned, who being often inuited to dinner, doth not refuse to go. Let vs neuer desire to be inuited, and euen when we are inuited, let vs go seldome, *It is a more blessed thing to giue, then to receiue*. And it is strange, but so it is, that euen he who desires you to receiue a curtesy at his handes, thinkes the meanlier of you, when you haue accepted thereof; and doth strangely honour you afterward if you chance to lay aside that request of his.

You who are a preacher of chastity, must not meddle with making of marriages. He who reades the Apostle saying thus, *It remaynes that they who haue wiues, be so as if they had them not*, Why should he compell a virgin to marry? He who is a Priest after hauing bene marryed but once, why should he exhort a widow to marry againe? The stewards and ouerseers of other mens houses, & possessions, how can they be Priests, who are comaunded to contemne their owne fortunes? To take any thing violently from a mans friend, is theft; to deceiue the Church, is sacrilledge. To take away that which were to be distributed vpon the poore, and when there are many hungry people, to be reserued or wary, or (which is a most abhominable crime) to take their due from them, doth exceed the cruelty of any robber by the high way. I am tormented with hũger, and you will be measuring out, how much I may haue an

appetite

appetite to eat. Either distribut that presently, which you haue receiued; or els if you be a timorous dispencer, turne it backe vpon the proprietary, that he may bestow his owne. I will not haue your purse to be filled, by occasion of dispensing my goods. No man can better dispose of my things, then my selfe. He is the best dispencer, who reserues nothing for his owne vse.

Youe haue compelled me, most deare *Nepotianus* (after thee booke which I wrote to holy *Eustichium* at *Rome* concerning the custody of virginity, which hath bene stoned to death) that now againe I haue vnsealed my mouth in *Bethleem*, and haue laid my selfe open, to be stabbed by the tongues of al men. For either I must writ nothing, least I should become subiect to mens censure (which you forbad me to regard;) or els I must know when I wrot that the dartes of all ill speaking tongues would be turned against me. But I beseech them to be quiet, & that they will giue ouer to backbite. For we haue not written this, as to aduersaries, but as to friendes; nor haue we made any inuectiue against them who sinne; but only aduised them not to do so. Nor haue we only bene seuere iudges against such as do ill, but against our selues also: and being desirous to picke the moat out of anothers eye, I haue first cast the beame out of myne owne. I haue done no man wrong, nor poynted at any mans name in my writing. My speech hath not applyed it selfe to particulars, but hath discoursed onely in generall against vice. He who shall be angry with me, will thereby confesse himselfe to be in fault.

Saint Hierome to Læta about the instruction of her daughter.

THE Apostle *Paul*, writing to the *Corinthians*, & instructing the Church of Christ, which was then but yoūg or rude, with holy directions, did propound this commaundment amongst the rest, *If any woeman haue an vnbelieuing husband, and if he consent to liue with her, let her not seperate her self from him: for the vnbelieuing husband is sanctified by the belieuing wife, and the vnbelieuing*

lieuing wife is ſanctifyed by the belieuing hubands ; for otherwiſe your children would be vncleane, but now they are cleane, If perhaps it may haue ſeemed to any hitherto, that the bonds of diſcipline were too much relaxed, & that the indulgẽce of the Maſter was too forward, let him conſider the houſe of you father, (a man, I confeſſe, moſt illuſtrious, and moſt learned; but yet walking hitherto in darkenes), and he will perceiue that the counſelle of the Apoſtle hath produced this effect; that the ſweetnes of the fruit might make a recompence for the bitternes of the root; & that baſe twigs, might ſweat forth pretious *balſamũ*. You are borne of an vnequall marriage, & *Paula* is begotten & brought forth, by my *Toxotius*, & you. Who would euer belieue that the grand-child of *Albinus* the pagan high Prieſt, ſhould be borne vpon the fore promiſe of a Martyr; that the ſtãmering tongue of the little one, ſhould ſound forth the *Alleluia* of Chriſt; that the old man ſhould cheriſh the virgin of God, in his boſome. And we haue wel & happily expected, *that the holy, & belieuing houſe may ſanctify the vnbelieuing husband*. He is now, in a kind of ambition, & expectation to become a Chriſtian, whom a troupe of belieuing ſons, & grand children doth already enuiron. For my part, I think that *Iupiter* himſelf might haue come to belieue in Chriſt, if he had had ſuch a kinred. Let him derid & ſpit at my Epiſtle, & and cry out that I am either fond, or mad. His ſonne in law did alſo this, before he belieued. Men are not born Chriſtians, but they are made ſo. The golden Capitoll is out of coũtenãce now, for lacke of looking to & al the heathen Temples of *Rome*, are ouer growne with cobwebs. The very citty is now fleeting from it ſelfe, and the people runnes downe, like a flood towards the Martyrs Tombes, whileſt the Heathen Temples are not yet halfe pulled downe. If wiſedome will not oblige them to embrace the faith, me thinkes they ſhould do it now euen for ſhame. This (O *Læta* my moſt deuout daughter in Chriſt) is ſaid to you, to the end that you deſpaire not of the conuerſation of your Father; and that by the ſame faith, wherby you haue deſerued to obtayne you daughter, you may alſo gaine your father; and ſo the whole houſe may be happy, by knowing this which was promiſed by our Lord, *Thoſe thinges which are impoſſible with men, are poſſible with God.* A mans conuerſion

sion neuer comes too late. The *theefe* passed on from the *Crosse* to *Paradice*. *Nabuchodonozor* the King of *Babylon*, after he had growne wild both in body and disposition, and had fed in the wildernes like a beast, was restored to the reason of a man. And (that I may passe ouer aūtient stories least they might seem fabulous to incredulous persons) did not your kinsman *Gracchus*, (whose name doth sufficiently shew the antiquity of his nobility, some few yeares since (when he had the prefecture of the City) ouerthrowe, breake downe, burne that denne of *Mithra*, and all those prodigious Idols wherby *Corax*, *Niphus*, *Nilon*, *Leo*, *Perses*, *Helios*, and father *Bromius* or *Bacchus* are dedicated to those vses? and hauing sent these hostages before him, did he not obtayne the Baptisme of Christ? *Gentility* suffers a kind of desolation of a wildernes euen in the Citty. The Gods which heretofore we adored by the Nations of the world, are now onely remayning in the tops of houses, with skrich Owles. The Ensignes of the Crosse, are now become the standars of the campe. The healthful picture of the same Crosse, serues to beautify the Purple Robes of Kings, & the bright burning gemmes of their diademes. Now the *Egyptian Serapis* is turned Christian; *Marnas* who is shut vp in *Gaza*, mournes, and perpetually trembles for feare of the euersion of that Temple. Out of *India*, *Persia*, and *Ethiopia*, we daily enterteyne whole troopes of Monckes. The *Armenian* hath layd his quiuers aside; the *Huns* learne the Psalter; the frozen *Scythia* doth euen boyle vp through the heat of faith The red and yellow Army of the *Getes* carry Churches like Tents round about; and therefore is it perhaps, that they make their part good against vs by way of Armes, because they embrace our Religion.

I am almost fallen away into an other matter, & the wheele running round, whilest I was thinking vpon a little pitcher, my hand hath made a great tankerd. For my purpose was, to direct my speech (vpon the request of holy *Marcella*, and you) to a Mother, that is to your selfe; and to teach you how you are to instruct our *Paula*, who was consecrated to Christ before she was borne; and whome you conceiued in your vowes, before you did it in your wombe. Somewhat we haue seene in our tyme, of the propheticall Bookes. *Anna* exchanged barrennes

for fruitfullnes; and you haue now changed your ſaid fruitfullnes, for hopefull children. I ſpeake it confidently, you ſhall haue more children, you who haue payd the firſt borne to God. Theſe are thoſe firſt borne, which were offered in the law. So was *Samuel* borne, and ſo was *Sampſon*; and ſo did *Iohn Baptiſt* reioyce and exult, vpon the arriuall of *Mary*. For he heard the words of our Lord thũdering in his eares, by the month of the virgin, and he ſtroue to breake forth of his Mothers wombe, that he might haue met him. So that ſhe who was borne by repromiſſion, muſt obtaine ſuch inſtruction from her parentes, as may be worthy of her birth. *Samuel* was brought vp in the Temple. *Iohn* was prepared in the deſert. The former was venerable by his ſacred haire, and druncke neither wine, nor any other thing which could inebriate; and whileſt he was yet but a little one, he had conuerſation with our Lord. The later flyes from Citties, he was bound in by a girdle of haire, he was fed with locuſts and wild hony; and (in type of the pennance which he was to preach) he was apparelled with the ſpoile, or skine, of the *Camel*, that moſt crooked beaſt. So muſt that ſoule be inſtructed, which is to become the Temple of God. Let her learne to heare, and ſpeake nothing, but that which belongs to the feare of God. Let her not vnderſtand a fowle word, and let her be ignorant of the ſonges which the world is wont to ſing. Let her tongue be enured to ſweet Pſalmes, whileſt it is young.

Away with the vſuall wantonnes of children, and let the girles, and waiting maides be remoued from ſecular conuerſation, leaſt what they haue learned ill, they teach worſe. Let ſome Alphabet of letters be made for her, either of Boxe or Iuory; & let them be called by their names. Let her play with them, that ſo her very playing, may be learning; and let her not only learne the order of the letters, that the memory of names may paſſe into the tune of ſome ſonge; but let euen that very order be inuerted, and let the laſt letters be mingled with them of the middeſt, and they of the middeſt with the foremoſt that ſhe may not only know them by roat, but by vſe. But when ſhe beginnes with a weake ſhaking hand, to draw her ſtile vpon waxe, let either the tender ioyntes of her fingers be

ruled

ruled by the casting of some hand ouer hers, or els let the letters be grauen vpon some little table; that the lines may be drawne & still shut vp in margens by the same hollowes, & so they may not wander abroad. Let some reward be propounded to her, when she beginnes to ioyne the sillables; and let her be animated, by such kind of Presents, as are wont to take the most flattering hold, vpon that tender age, Let her also haue companious in learning, whom she may enuy, and by whose prayses she may be stung. If she be at all slowe of wit, let her not be chidden; but you must raise it with comendation of her, that she may be glad when she hath conquered, and be sorry when she is ouercome. You must chiefly take care, that she be not brought to mislike learning, and that the bitter way of teaching her, in her infancy, may not be remembred by her, whē she shall haue passed beyond those tender yeares. Those names whereby she shall accustome her selfe by little and little to knit words together, must not be casuall, but appointed, and industriously compiled; namely of the Prophets, & the Apostles; & let the whole series of the Patriarkes from *Adam*, be brought downe, as it is deliuered in *Matthew*, and *Luke*. That so whileste she is about this other businesse, a preparation of matter may be made for her memory, to be layd vp thereby for after tymes. Some Master must be chosen of fit yeares for her, and of good life & knowledge. And I hope a learned man will not thinke much, to do that in the behalfe of a noble virgin, which *Aristotle* did for the sonne of *Phillip*, who tooke the office of clarckes or booke wrighters away, by teaching him first to reade. Those thinges are not to be contemned as little, without which great thinges cannot stand. The very ayre or manner of the letters, and the first teaching of Rules, doth sound after one fashion out of a learned mouth, and after another, if the man be ignorant and rude. And therefore you must prouide, that through the foolish dandlings of woemen, your daughter get not a custome of pronouncing certaine halfe wordes. Nor to play with gold, or gay cloathes, though it be but in iest; for the former of these two things hurts the tongue, & the latter hurts the mind; and she may chance learne that, when she is young, which afterward she must be fayne to vnlearne. The māner of *Hortensius*

ſius his ſpeech was gotten by him in his fathers armes. That is hardly ſcraped out, which young vnfaſhioned mindes haue drunke in. Who ſhall be able to reduce purple wooll, to the former whitenes? A new veſſell long retaynes both that odour and taſte, whereof it receiued the firſt impreſſion. The *Grecian* hiſtory relates, how *Alexander*, that moſt powerfull King and conquerour of the world, had not power to want the defect of his Tutour *Leonides*, both in his gate, and behauiour otherwiſe, wherewith he was infected being a little one. For it is a matter of much eaſe, to grow like an other in any thing which is ill; and you may readily imitate their vices, to whoſe vertues you cannot ariue. Let not euen her nurſe be giuen to wine, nor be wanton or tatling. Let her be carryed by ſome modeſt creature, & let the man who ouerlookes her, be a graue perſon. When ſhe ſees her grandfather, make her skippe into his boſome, and hang about his necke; and ſing *Alleluia* to him, whether he will or no. Let her grand mother ſnatch her to her ſelfe, and acknowledge that ſhe ſmyles like her father. Let her be amiable to all, and let the whole kinred reioyce, that ſuch a roſe is ſprung from thence. Let her quickly be told, what her other grand mother, and aunt ſhe hath; and for the ſeruice of what Emperour, and for what Army ſhe is brought vp, though yet ſhe be but a green ſouldier. Let her deſire to be with them; and let her threaten you, that ſhe will be gone to them from you.

Her very habite, and cloathing, muſt tell her to whom ſhe is promiſed. Take heed you bore not through her eares, & that you paynt not that face, which is conſecrated to Chriſt, either with white or red, nor oppreſſe her necke with gold, & pearle, nor load her head with gemmes; nor make her haire yellow, and beſpeake not by that meanes, a part of hell-fyer for her. Let her haue an other kind of pearles, by the ſelling whereof afterward, ſhe may purchace that one great Pearle, which is the moſt pretious of all. A certaine noble woman of the higeſt rancke, vpon the comaundment of *Hymetius* her huſband, who was vncle to the virgin *Euſtochium* did once change the manner of her habit, and dreſſing; and knit vp her neglected haire after a ſecular faſhion, deſiring thereby to ouercome both

both the purpose of the virgin her selfe, and the desire of her mother. But behould the very selfe same night, she sees (when she was at rest) that an angell was already come towards her, threating punishment with a terrible voice, and storming out these words, *Hast thou presumed to preferre the comaundment of thy husband, before Christ? Hast thou presumed to touch the head of the virgin of God, with thy sacrilegious handes? which euen at this instant, shall wither vp; that thou mayest feele with tormentes, what thou hast done; and at the end of the fifth moneth from hence, thou shalt be lead downe to hell.* All these thinges were fulfilled in the selfe same order as they were foretold; and the swift destruction of that miserable creature, declared the latenes of her penance. So doth Christ reuenge himselfe vpon the violater of his temples; and so doth he defend his owne iewels, and most pretious ornaments.

I hauerelated this particular, not that I would insult vpō the calamities of vnfortunat creatures, but that I may admonish you, with how great feare and caution you must preserue that which you haue promised to God. *Heli* the Priest offended God by the sinnes of his sonnes. He must not be made a Bishop, who hath luxurious and disobedient children. But on the other side, it is written of woman, that she shall be saued by the bringing forth of children; if they remayne in faith, and charity, and sanctification, with chastity. But now if a sonne of perfect age, and who hath discretion to guide himselfe be put vpon the account of his parents when he doth il; how much more shall it be so, in the case of sucking and weake children; who, according to the iudgment of our Lord, *know not their right hand from the left*; that is to say, the differēce betweeⁿ good & ill. If you will prouide with extraordinary care that you daughter be not bitten by a viper; why will you not prouide with the like care, that she may not be stroken by that beetle, which beates vpon the whole earth; that she may not drinke of the golden cup of *Babylon*; that she go not forth with *Dina*, to se the daughter of a straung nation; that she dance not, and weare not curious cloathes? Poyson is not offered, vnles it be ouerspred with hony; and vice deceiues not, but vnder the shadow and shew of vertue. But how, will you say; The sinnes of

fathers

fathers are not punished vpon the children, nor of the children vpon the parents; but *that soule which sinnes shall dye.*

This is said of them who haue discretion, and of whom it is written in the Ghospell, *He is of age, let him speake for himself*; But he who is a little one, and who iudges of thinges like a little one, till he come to the yeares of discretion, and till the letter of *Pythagoras*, the Y bring him to the parting of the two wayes, both the good, and ill; of such a one is imputed to the parents. Vnles you will perhaps conceiue, that the children of Christians, if they receiue not Baptisme, are onely guilty of that sinne; and that the wickednes hath no relation to them, who would not giue the *Baptisme*; especially if it be at such tyme, as when they who are to receiue *Baptisme*, haue no power to refuse it. But so on the other side, the good of those Infants, is also the gayne of their parents. It was in your power, whether or no you would offer vp your daughter, though yet your case be different, who made a *vow* of her, before you conceiued; but that now you should neglect her breeding, whē you haue offered her, will touch you selfe in point of danger. He who makes oblation of a Sacrifice, which is lame or maymed or defiled with any spot, is guilty of sacriledge; and how much more will she be punished, who is negligent in preparing a part of her owne body, and the purity of an vntouched mind, *for the embracements of the King*?

When she beginnes to be a little growne, and *to encrease in wisedome, age, and grace, both with God and man*, after the example of her spowse, let her go to the Temple of her true father, with her parents; but let her not depart with them out of the Temple. Let thē seeke her in the iourney of this world, and amongst the troupes of her kinred, but let them find her no where els, but in the secret retiring place of holy scriptures, asking questions of the Prophets, and Apostles, couering her spirituell mariage. Let her imitatat *Mary*, whome *Gabriel* found aboue in her chamber; and who was therefore stroken with feare, because she saw a man, as she was not wont to do. Let her imitate her, of whom it is said, *All the glory of that daughter of the King, is from within* Let her also say to her elect, being wounded by the dart of his charity, *The King hath led me into his chamber.*

chamber. Let her neuer go forth, leaſt they meet with her, who walke round about the citty, and leaſt they ſtrike and wound her, and take the pure veile of chaſtity from her, & leaue her ſtarke naked in her owne blood; but rather when any body knockes at the doore, let her ſay: *I am a wall, and my breaſts are a towre, I haue waſhed my feet, and I cannot find in my hart to fowle them.*

Let her not feed in publike, that is to ſay, at her parents table, that ſo ſhe may ſee no meat which ſhe may affect. And though ſome thinke, that it is an act of higher vertue to contemne pleaſure, when it is at hand; yet for my part, I hold it to be the ſafer way towardes abſtinence, to be ignorant of that, which you muſt not ſeeke. I read this of old, when I was a boye at ſchoole; *You haue no good title to reprehend that, which you ſuffer to take roote by cuſtome.* Let her beginne to learne, euen already, not to drinke wine, *wherein is Luxury.* Before one come to be of ſtrong age, abſtinence is both grieuous and dangerous. Till that tyme ſhe may (if need require) both bath, and vſe a little wine, for the help of her ſtomake, and be ſuſtayned by the eating of ſome fleſh, leaſt her feet fayle her, beofre ſhe can begin to runne. And this I ſay, according to indulgence, but not according to commaundment; fearing weaknes, but not teaching the way to luſt. For otherwiſe, that which is partly done by the ſuperſtition of the Iewes, in reiecting ſome beaſts, and other food; and which the *Brachmanni* of the *Indians*, and the *Gymnoſophiſts* of the *Egyptians* do alſo vſe, euen in excluding the vſe of ſo much, as flower, or barly, and only to feed vpon rootes; Why ſhould not the Virgin of Chriſt obſerue wholy? If glaſſe be ſo much worth, why ſhould not pearle be worth more? She who is borne vpon a fore-promiſe, let her liue ſo, as they liued who were borne vpon ſuch a kind of fore-promiſe. A like grace ought to be obtained by a like labour.

Let her be deafe to muſicall inſtruments, and not know why the *Pipe*, the *Lyra*, and the *Harpe* were made. Let her daily giue account of the taske of thoſe flowers, which ſhe daily is to gather out of Scripture: Let her learne from thence a certaine number of Greeke verſes. Then preſently let the teaching of the Latin tongue follow after; which if it caſt not her

young mouth into a frame from the beginning, her tongue wil be peruerted towardes ſome ſtrange accent; and her naturall langu-ge will be abaſed with forraine errours. Let her haue you for her Miſtres, & let her tẽder youth admire you. Let her ſee nothing in you, or in her Father, which if ſhe doe, ſhe may ſinne. Remember you who are the parents of a Virgin, that you are to teach her more by your deeds, then by your words. Flowers quickly fad, and an vnwholſome ayre doth ſoone corrupt the Saffran, the violet, and the lilly. Let her neuer goe into publike, but with you. Let her not goe euen to the tombes of Martyrs, or to Churches, without her mother. Let no youth, let no dapper fellow ſmile vpon her. Let our young virgin ſo celebrate the dayes of Vigills, and ſolemne pernoctations, that ſhe may not depart from her mother, euen for one haires breadth.

I will not haue her loue any one of her maides, more then another; nor that ſhe be euer whiſpering in her eare. Whatſoeuer ſhe ſayth to one of them, let them all know. Let that cõpanion pleaſe her, who is not tricked vp, nor fayer, & wantõ, and who ſinges not a ſweet ſong with a clear voyce; but who is graue, pale, neglecting her ſelfe, and inclining to ſadnes. Let her gouerneſſe be ſome auntient virgin of approued truſt, modeſty and couuerſation; who may inſtruct her, and accuſtome her by her owne example, to riſe by night to prayers & *Pſalmes* to ſing hymnes in the morning, and at the *third*, the *ſixth*, and *ninth* houre; to ſtand in the skirmiſh, & like a warryer of Chriſt to offer the *euening ſacrifice* with her lampe lighted. Let the day paſſe in this manner, and ſo let the night find her labouring. Let reading come after prayer, and then prayer after reading. That tyme will ſeeme ſhort, which is imployed vpon ſuch variety of workes. Let her learne alſo to make yarne, to hold the diſtaffe, to lay the basket in her lap, to turne the ſpindle, & to draw downe the threed with her fingars. Let her deſpiſe ſilke, and the wooll of the *Sereans*, and gold which is wrought into fine thred. Let her get ſuch garments, as wherby the cold may be driuen away, and not whereby the body which is pretended to be clad, may be diſcouered. Let her food be ſome little pot of herbes, and flower, and little fiſhes for ſome ſeldome

dome tymes. And (that I may not draw on theſe rules againſt gluttony into length, whereof I haue alſo ſpoken more at large elſwhere) let her ſo eate, that ſhe may be euer hungry, and may be able to read, & ſing pſalmes preſently after meat. Thoſe long and immoderate faſts are not allowed by me (eſpecially when the party is very young) wherin they go empty from one weeke to another, and when it is forbidden to eat fruites, and to vſe oyle in the dreſſing of meat. I haue learned by experience, that an aſſe when he is weary, ſeeks places into which he may diuert. This do thoſe worſhippers of *Iſis*, and *Cybeles*, who with a gluttonous kind of abſtinence, deuour pheaſants & turtles, when they are brought ſmoaking in, leaſt otherwiſe forſooth, they ſhould defile the gifts of *Ceres*. This is the precept, which I giue for that kind of faſt, which is to be continuall, that our ſtrength may laſt for a long iourney, leaſt being able to runne in the firſt part of therace, whē we come to the ſecond we fal downe. But (as I haue writen hertofore) in *Lent* the ſails of abſtinence are to be hoiſed vp, and all the raines of the charriot-driuer, are to be layd in the horſes neckes, as when they are in great haſt. Though yet, there be ſtill a difference betweene the condition of ſecular perſons, and that of Virgins and Monkes. A ſecular man concoctes the former rauin of his appetite, and liuing vpon his owne iuyce (after the manner of ſnailes) he prepares his panch for future food, and fat prouiſion: but a Virgin, and a Monke, muſt ſo looſe the raines to their horſes, as to remember that they muſt euer runne. That labour which endes not, muſt be moderate; but that which is to haue an end, may for the tyme be more intenſe. For there we are euer going, and here we pawſe ſometimes. If euer you goe to the houſes of recreation neere the Citty, doe not leaue your daughter at home. Let her not know how, nor let her be able to liue without you; and when ſhe is alone, let her be afraid, let her not haue conuerſation with ſecular perſons, nor cohabite with ill bred Virgins. Let her not be preſent at the marriage of your ſeruants, nor mingle her ſelfe with the ſports of the vnquiet family.

I know ſome who haue aduiſed, that the virgin of Chriſt may not bath her ſelfe, with ſo much as Eunches, nor with maryed.

ryed woemen; for the former lay not downe the mindes of mẽ; and the later, by their great bellyes shew about what businesse they haue bene. For my part, I am vtterly against liking, that a virgin of ripe yeares should vse bathes at all; who ought to be ashamed, and euen not to see her selfe naked. For if she macerate her body, and reduce it to seruitude by watching, and fasting, if she desire to extinguish the incentiues, and flame of lust of her boyling youth by the coolenes of abstinance, if by the desire of neglecting her selfe she make hast to put her natural beauty in disorder; why should she on the other side stirre vp couered fyer, by the entertainment and incouragement of *Bathes*?

Insteed of silke and gemmes, let her loue the diuine bookes; wherein not the picture which is limmed with gold vpon *Babylonian* parchment, but an exact and learned edition or coppy may giue delight. Let her first learne the *Psalter*, let her diuert her selfe from vanity, by those songes; and let her life be instructed by the Prouerbs of Salomon. In *Ecclesiastes*, let her learne to despise worldly thinges. In *Iob* let her follow the examples of vertue and patience. Let her passe from thence to the Ghospels, and neuer lay them out of her hands. Let her sucke in; the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, with the whole affection of her hart. And when she hath enriched the storehouse of her brest with those goods, let her commit the Prophets to memory, the fiue bookes of *Moyses*, the bookes of *Kinges* the *Cronicles*, and the volumes also of *Esdras*, and *Hester*. At the last, she may without danger, learne the *Canticle of Canticles*; which if she had red in the beginning, she might perhaps haue been wounded; through want of vnderstanding that nuptiall songe of spirituall Marriage, which is expressed vnder corporall wordes. Let her take heed of all Apocriphall bookes. And if at any time she will read them, not for the truth of doctrine, but for the reuerence which is due to Miracles; let her know that they are not theirs, vnder whose names they goe; and that many vitious thinges be mingled, therewith; and that the man had need of much prudence, who is to seeke gold in dust. Let her euer haue the workes of *Cyprian* in her hand, and she may with a secure foot runne ouer the Epistles of *Athanasius*, and

the

the bookes of *Hilarius*. Let her be delighted with their tracts and wits, in whose bookes the piety of faith wauers not. And as for other Authours, let her read them so, as that she may rather iudge of them, then be ruled by them.

But you will say, how can I, being a secular woman, obserue all these things at *Rome*, in such a great crowd of people? Do not vndergo that burden, which you are not able to beare; but when you shall haue weaned her, with *Isaac*, and shall haue clad her with *Samuell*; send her to her grandmother, and her aunt. Restore that most pretious gemme to the chamber of *Mary*; and let it be set vpon the cradle of *Iesus*, who is crying out there, like an infant. *Let her be brought vp in the Monastery, let her life be spent among those quiers of virgins; let her not learne to sweare; let her hold a lye to be a sacrilege; let her be ignorant of the world; let her liue angelically; let her conuerse in flesh without flesh; & let her hold all others to be like her selfe.* And that I may passe ouer the rest with silence, let her free you from the difficulty, & danger of cõseruing her. It is better for you to wish for her, when she is absent; then to be frighted concerning her vpon al occasions, when she is present, about what she is saying, with whome she is speaking, towardes whome she makes a signe, and vpon whome she lookes with a good will. Deliuer this little one ouer to *Eustochium*; the childes very crying, now like an infant is a kind of prayer for you. Deliuer to *Eustochium* this companion of sanctity, whome hereafter she may leaue her heire thereof. Let her looke vpon her Aunt, loue her, and admire her euen from her infancy, whose speech, whose gate, and whose conuersation, is the very doctrine it selfe of vertue. Let her be in the lappe of her grandmother, who may hereafter reap in her grand-child, whatsoeuer she sowed in her daughter; who hath learned by long experience to bring vp, to conserue, to instruct virgins; whose crowne is wouen with chastity, and it hath the increase of a hundred fould.

O happy virgin! O happy *Paula*, the daughter of *Toxotius*, who through the vertue of her grandmother, and of her aũt, is more honourable by sanctity, then by nobility of stock! O that you might happẽ to see that mother and sister in law of yours, and behold those great mindes in little bodies! I doubt not but

but according to that modeſty, wherwith you are naturaly indued, you would outſtrip your daughter, and change that firſt ſentence of God, for that ſecond law of the Ghoſpel; nor would you only contemne the deſire of having more poſterity, but would rather offer your ſelfe to God. But becauſe *there is a time for embracing, and a time for abſtayning; and the wife hath not power ouer her body*. And; *Let euery one who is called, continue in the ſame vocation, in our Lord*. And ſince he, who is vnder the yoke with another, muſt ſo runne, as not to leaue his cõpanion in the durt; doe you reſtore that wholly in your offſpring, which you defer in the meane time, concerning your ſelfe. *Anna* did neuer receaue her ſonne againe, whom she vowed to God, when once ſhe had offered him in the Tabernacle; eſteeming it to be an indecent thing, that he who was to be a Prophet, ſhould grow vp in her houſe, who had ſtill a deſire of more children. In fine after ſhe had conceiued, and brought him forth, ſhe durſt not approach to the Temple, nor appeare empty handed before our Lord, till firſt she had payd what she ought; and hauing made an immolation of that ſacrifice, and returning home, ſhe brought fiue children for her ſelfe: for her firſt borne was brought forth by her for our Lord. Admire you the fidelity of this holy woman? Imitate alſo her fayth. If you will ſend *Paula* hither, my ſelfe make you a promiſe, that I will be both her teacher, and her foſter-father. I will carry her vpon my ſhoulders; and though I be an old man, I will by imitation of ſtammering frame wordes fit for her, and will eſteeme my ſelf much more glorious, then that Philoſopher of the world; I, who ſhall not be inſtructing that Macedonian King, who was to be deſtroyed by poiſon; but a hand-maid and ſpouſe of Chriſt our Lord, to be prepared for his coleſtiall kingdome.

Saint Hierome to Furia; about keeping her ſelfe in ſtate of widdowhood.

YOV deſire me by your letters, and you entreat me in a lowly kind of manner to anſwere you: and I will write how you ought to liue, and conſerue the crowne of widowhood,

hood, without touch to the reputation of your chastity. My mind reioyces, my hart exults, and the affection of my soule doth euen earne with gladnes, to see you desire that, after your husbands life, which your mother *Titiana* of holy memory did mainteyne and performe a long time, whilest her husband liued. Her petition, and prayers are heard. She obtayned that her only daughter should arriue to that, which her selfe when she was aliue, did possesse. You haue besides a great priuiledge, from the house whereof you came, in that, since *Camillus* his dayes, it is hardly writen, that any woman of your family was euer marryed a second tyme. So that you are not so prayse-worthy if you cõtinue a widdow, as you will deserue, to be detested if you keep not that being a Christiã, which Pagã woemen haue kept for so many ages. I say nothing of *Paula* & *Eustochium*, who are the flowers of your stocke; least by occasion of exhorting you, I may seeme to prayse them. I also passe by *Blesilla*, who following your husband, and your brother, ran through much tyme (after the account of vertue) in a short space of her life. And I wish that men would imitate that, for which woemen may be praysed, and that wrinkled old age, would restore, what youth doth offer of his owne accord.

I do wittingly, & willingly thrust my hand into the fyre. The browes will be knit, the arme will be stretched out & angry *Chremes* rage, till his face swell. The great Lords will stãd vp against this letter, the nõbility of lower ranke wil thunder, crying out, *that I am a witch; I, a seducer, and fit to be carryed away into the furthest part of the world*. Let them add if they will, *that I am also a Samaritan*, to the end that I may acknowledge the title of my Lord. But the truth is, I deuide not the daughter frõ the mother, nor doe I bring that of the Ghospell, *let the dead bury the dead*. For he liues whosoeuer he be, that belieues in Christ But he that belieues in him, must also walke as he walked. Away with that enuy, & malignitity, which the sharpe tooth of ill tongued men would euer be fasting vpon Christians; that whilest they feare reproach, they may be vrged to forsake the loue of vertue. Except it be by letters, we know not one another; and then piety is the onely cause, where there is no notice of flesh and blood. Honour you father, if he seperate you not from

from the true Father. So long you must acknowledge the tye of blood, as he shall know his Creatour. For otherwise, *Dauid* will speake thus to you in playne termes; *Hearken, O daughter, & see, and incline thyne eare, and forget thy people, and thy fathers house and the King will earnestly desire thy beauty. for he is thy Lord.* A great reward, for hauing forgoten a father, *The King will earnestly desire thy beauty. Because you sawe, because you inclined your eare, and haue forgotten your people, & your fathers house, therfore the King will earnestly desire your beauty, and will say to you; Thou art all fayre, my friend, and there is no spot in thee.* What is more beautifull then a soule, which is called the daughter of God, and cares for noe exteriour ornaments? She believes in Christ, and being aduanced to this high honour, she passes on to her spouse, hauing him for her Lord, who is her husband.

What troubles are found in these other marriages, you haue found in the marriages themselues; and being satisfyed euen to a glut with the flesh of quailes, your iawes haue bene filled with extreme bitternes. You haue cast vp those sharpe and vnwholesome meates, you haue rendred that boyling & vnquiet stomacke. Why will you cramme you selfe againe with that, which did yea hurt, *like a Dog returning to his vomit, and a Sow made cleane in a wallowing place of durt?* Euen bruit beastes, and wild birdes, are not apt to fall againe, into the same ginnes and nets. Are you perhaps affrayd, that the family of your *Furia's* should faile; and that your father should not haue some little child sprunge from your body, who may craule vp and downe his brest, and bedaube his necke with filth? As if all they who were marryed had borne children; or they who haue had children, had them euer answerable to the stocke whereof they came. Belike *Cicero'es* sonne, did resemble his father in eloquence; and your aunceſtour *Cornelia* who was indeed the example both of chastity and fecundity, was glad belike, that she brought the *Gracchi* into the world. It is a ridiculous thing to hope for that, as a thing certaine, which you see, that many haue not, & others haue lost when they had it. But to whom shal you resigne so great riches? to Christ, who cannot dye. Whom shall you haue for your heire? him, who is also your Lord. Your father will be troubled at it; but Christ will

will be glad your family will mourne, but the angels will rejoyce. Let your father do what he will with his estate, you belong not to him of whom you were borne, but to him by whom you were regenerated, & who redeemed you with that great price of his owne blood. Take heed of those nurses, and those women who are wont to carry the children in their armes, and such venemous creatures as they, who desire to feed their bellyes, even out of your very skinne. They perswade you not to that which is good for you, but for themselues. And they are often giuing out those verses:

VVilt thou alone consume thy youth in vayne,
And children sweet, and loues rewards disdayne?

But men will say, that where the sanctity of chastity is, there is frugality, where frugality is, there are the seruants put to losse. They thinke themselues robbed, of whatsoeuer they carry not away; and they consider but how much, and not of how much, they receiue it. Whersoeuer they see a Christian, they encounter him with that common scorne of being an Impostor. These people sow most shamefull rumours; and that which came first from themselues, they giue out, to haue had from others; being both the authors, and exaggerators of the report. A publique fame growes out of a meere lye which being once come to the Matrons eares, and hauing bene canuased by their tongues, passes on, and penetrates euen through whole Prouinces. You shall see many of them, fall into the very rage of mad people, and with a spotted face, and vipers eyes, and woorm-eaten teeth, raile at Christians.

Heeres one, who in some stately purple mantle goes,
And mumbling out some filthy thing, through lustfull nose,
Tripes to her wrinkles, and doth her toothles mouth distleare.

And then forsooth all the company, makes a buz on her side; and the audience barkes out against vs; yea and some of our owne infirme ioyne with them, being both the detractors and the detracted. Against God they haue tongue inough, but they are dumbe in finding fault with themselues, as if euer they were also any other thing, then Monkes, and that whatsoeuer is spoken against Monkes, did not redound vpon Priests, who are the fathers of Monkes. The losse of the sheep, is a reproach

proach to the shepheard: as on the other side; the life of that Monke deserues praise, who reuerences the Priests of Christ, and detracts not from that order, whereby he is made a Christian.

I haue said thus much to you, O daughter in Christ, not doubting of your purpose, for you wolud neuer haue desired my letters of exhortation, if you had made any question of the good of single marriage; but to the end, that you might vnderstand the wickednes of seruants, who set a price vpon you; and the sleights of kinsmen, and the pious errour of your father, to whō though I will easily allow that he loues you, yet I cannot grant, that it is a loue according to knowledge. But I say with the Apostle, *I confesse they haue zeale, but not according to knowledge.* Do you rather imitate (for this I must often repeat) that holy mother of yours; whom as often as I remember, it occurres to me to thinke of her ardent loue towards Christ, her palenes through fasting, her almes to the poore, her obsequiousnes to the seruants of God; the humility both of her exteriour, and of her hart; and her speech which was so moderate vpon all occasions. Let your father (whom I name with honour and all due respect; not because he is of Consular authority and a Senator, but because he is a Christian) fulfil the effect of his name. Let him reioyce that he begat a daughter, not for the world, but for Christ; or rather let him grieue that you haue lost your virginity in vayne; and with all, haue not gathered the fruit of marriage. Where is the husbād which he gaue you? Though he had bene amiable; though he had bene good, death would haue snatched all away; and his departure would haue vntyed the knot of flesh and blood. I beseech you take speedy hold of the occasion, and make a vertue of necessity. The beginning of Christians, doth not so much import, as the end. *Paul* began ill, but ended well; and the beginnings of *Iudas* are praised, but his end was made damable by his trechery. *Read Ezechiel. Whosoeuer the iust man shall sinne, his iustice shall not deliuer him; and the impiety of the wicked, shall not hurt him, whensoeuer he shall be conuerted from his impiety.* This is *Iacobs* ladder, by which the Angels ascend, and descend; from the top whereof our Lord leaning downeward reaches out his hand, to such as are weary, suffey-

ning

ning the weake steps of them who climbe, by the contemplatiō of himselfe. But as *he desires not the death of a sinner, but that he may be conuerted and liue*; so he hates such as are tepid, & they quickly make him ready euen to cast the gorge. *She to whome more is forgiuen, loueth more*. That vncleane woman, who was baptised in the Ghospell in her teares; and she who had formerly deceiued many with the haire of her head, was saued by wiping the feet of our Lord. She brought not frizled dressings with her, nor crackling shooes, nor eyes which were smoaked ouer with Antimony. So much the fowler she was, so much was she the fayrer. What should painting white or red, doe vpon the face of a Christian? whereof the one tels a lye in making red the lips and cheeks, the other doth as much, in making white the forehead and necks; They are fyer to enflame young people; they are the entertainments and encouragements of lust; and they are testimonyes of an vnchast mind. How will such a one weepe for her sinnes, whose teares shew her skine, and do euen make furrowes in the face? This is not an ornament according to our Lord, but it is a couering of Antichrist. With what confidence can a woman lift vp that face to heauen, which the Creator of all thinges, knowes not? It is impertinent for any to alledge her youth, or tender yeares. The widow who hath left to please her husband, & who (according to the Apostle) is a widow indeed, hath need of nothing but perseuerance. It is true, that she remembers her former pleasure; she knowes what she hath lost; and wherin she tooke delight; but these burning arrowes of the diuell, are to be quenched by the rigour of watching, and fasting. Either let vs frame our discourse according to that kind of life which we seem to lead otherwise, or els let vs seem to liue according to the discourse we hold. Why do we professe one thing & practise another? The tongue talkes of chastity, and the exteriour of the whole body iust the contrary. And this I haue thought good to say, of the dressing and habit of the body.

But the widow who liues in delights, is dead, euen whilest she is aliue; and this is not my saying, but the Apostles. What is the meaning of this, *She is dead, euen whilest she is aliue*? She seemes indeed to liue, in the eyes of ignorant people, and not to be dead

dead in Christ, from whome no secret is concealed: *The soule which sinnes, the same shall dye.* Some mens sinnes are manifest, & precede their iudgment; but some other mens sinnes follow it. And so also good deedes are manifest, and such as are not good cannot lye hid. He speakes therefore to this effect. There are some who sinne publikely, and so freely, that so soone as you see them, you presently vnderstand them to be sinners; but others who hide their sinnes with craft, are knowne afterward by their conuersation: and in like manner, the good deedes of some are very publike, and they of others are not knowne to vs, but only by long experience afterward. To what purpose is it therefore, that we stand bragging of chastity, which is not able to winne credit for it selfe, without her companions, and adiuntes, which are Abstinence & Thirst? The Apostle macerates his body, & bringes it vnder the subiection of his soule, for feare least otherwise he should not find that to be in himself which he had inioyned to others. And shall a young woman, whose blood is boyling vp with meat, be secure concerning her chastity? Neither yet whilest I am saying this, do I condemne those meates which God hath created to be vsed by vs, with thankesgiuing; but I take from young people & maides, the motiues and intertainments of pleasure? They are not the fire of *Ætna*, nor that land of *Vulcan*, nor eyther *Vesuuius*, or *Olimpus*, which boyle vp in so huge a heat, as do the most inward veines of young people, when they are full of wine, and inflamed with curious fare.

There are many, who tread vpon couetousnes; and it is layd aside by them as easily as their purse. A reprochfull tongue, is mended by imposing silence vpon it. To reforme the habite and order of our clothing, doth but cost an houres work. All other sinnes are without the man; and that which is without, is soone cast away. Only lust, to which we are enabled by God, for the procreation of children, if it passe beyond the due boundes, proues vicious, & by a kind of course of nature, instriues to breake out into copulation. It is therefore a point of great vertue, and requires a carefull diligence to ouercome that, to which you are borne, and not to liue in flesh, after a fleshly manner; to fight daily with your selfe, and to hate the

hundred

hundred eyes of *Argus* (which the Poets faigne) vpon that enemy who is shut vp within our selues. This is that which the Apostle deliuers to vs in other words: *All sinne which a man commits is without the body, but he who commits fornication, sinnes against his owne body*. The Phisitians, who writ of the nature of mans body, and especially *Galen* sayth in those bookes which are intituled *Of preseruing bodily health*, that the bodies of youthes, and young men, and of men and woemen of perfect age, boyle vp through their inuate heate, and that such food is hurtfull to them, at those years, as doth increase their heat; & that on the other side it conduces to their health, to take such other meate and drinke, as cooles the blood. And so also old wine, and warmer food, is good for old men who are subiect to crudities and fleame. Whereupon our Sauiour also sayth; *Looke to your selues, that your hartes be not oppressed, through gluttony & drunkennes, and with the cares of this life*. And the Apostle speakes of *wine, wherein there is luxury*. Neither is it any marueile, that the Potter framed this iudgment of the poore little pot which himselfe had made, when the Comedian, whose end was no more then to describe the conditiō of mankind, sayd, that *Venus* grew could without *Ceres* and *Bacchus*.

First therefore (if yet the strength of your stomacke will endure it) let water be your drinke, till you shall haue passed ouer the heat of your youth. Or if your weakenes will not admit of this, hearken to *Timothy*; *Vse a little wine for your stomacke, and for your frequent infirmities*. In the next place, you must in your food, auoyd all kind of thinges which are hot. And here I speake not only of flesh, vpon which the vessell of election pronounces this sentence; *It is good for a man not to drinke wine, nor to eate flesh*; but also euen in *Pulse*, to auoyd all those things, which are windy, and heauy; and know you that nothing is so good for Christians, as the feeding vpon kitchin herbes. Whereupon he saith also in another place? *He that is infirme, let him eat herbes*; and so the heat of our bodies, is to be tempered with this cooler kind of cates.

Daniel, & the three children were fed with *Pulse*. They were but young, & were not yet come to the fiery paine wherin that Babylonian King fryed those old iudges. By vs, that

good & fayre ſtate of body which (euen beſides the priuiledge of Gods grace) appeared in them, by theyr feeding vpon ſuch meates, is not eſteemed; but the ſtrength of the ſoule is ſought by vs; which is ſo much the ſtronger, by how much the fleſh is weaker. From hence it is, that many who deſire to lead a chaſt life, fall groueling downe in the mideſt of their iourney, whileſt they attend only to abſtayne from fleſh; and load the ſtomacke with pulſe, which being taken moderately and ſparingly, is not hurtfull. But if I ſhall ſay what I thinke, there is nothing which doth ſo much inflame a body, and prouoke the partes of generation, as meate when it is not wel digeſted, but makes a kind of conuulſion in the body through windynes.

I had rather O daughter, ſpeake a little too plainly, then that the matter we ſpeake of, ſhould be in danger. You muſt thinke all that to be poyſon, which makes a ſeminary of pleaſure. A ſparing diet, & a ſtomacke which is euer in appetite, I preferre before a faſt of three daies; and it is much better to take ſome little thing euery day, then to feed full, at ſome few times. That rayne is the moſt profitable, which deſcends into the earth, by little and little. A ſudden and exceſſiue ſhower, which fals impetuouſly, turnes the field vp ſide downe. When you eat, conſider that inſtantly after, you muſt pray and read. Rate your ſelf to a certaine number of verſes of holy Scripture, and performe this taske to our Lord; and allow not your body to take reſt, till you ſhall haue filled the basket of your breaſt with that kind of worke. Next after holy ſcriptures, read the writings of learned men; of thē I meane whoſe faith is known. There is no cauſe, why you ſhold ſeeke gold in durt, but you muſt ſell pearles, to buy that one. Stand according to the aduiſe of *Ieremy*, neer many wayes, that you may meet with that one which leades to our country Transferre your loue of iewels, and gemmes, and ſilken cloathes, to the knowledge of holy ſcripture. Enter into that land of promiſe flowing with milke and hony. Eate flower, and oyle, and apparayle your ſelfe with the variouſly coloured garments of *Ioſeph*. Let your eares be boared through with *Ieruſalem*, that is to ſay, by the word of God, that the pretious grayne of new corne, may bow downe from thence. You haue holy *Experius*, a man of fit age

and

& approued faith, who will often instruct you with his good aduice. *Make friendes for your selfe of the vniust Mammon, who may receiue you into those eternal Tabernacles:* bestow your riches vpon them, who eat not pheasants, but browne bread, who driue hunger away, and who do not call lust home. *Haue vnderstanding of the poore, and needy*; giue to euery one that askes of you, but especially to the houshould of faith. Cloath the naked, & the hungry, & visit the sicke. As often as you stretch forth your hand, thinke of Christ. Take heed, that when your Lord God is begging of you, you increase not the riches of other folkes.

Fly from the conuersation of young men, and let not any roof in your house be able to see these dapper, curious, and loose fellowes there. Let the musitian be sent away like a malefactour, and thrust you rudely out of your house, all Fidlers, and minstrells, and such quiers of the Diuell, as you would annoyd those *Syren* songes, which bring destruction. Goe not forth in publicke, & be not carryed vp and downe (according to the liberty which widowes takes) with that army of Eunuches going before you. It is a most wicked custome, that a frail sexe, and a weake age should abuse power, and should thinke that all is lawfull, which they list. Though all thinges were lawful, al things are not expediēt. Let not any sollicitour who is curled vp, nor any fine foster-brother, nor any dainty faire-faced page, be neere you. Sometymes the Ladyes mind, is vnderstood by the habit of her maides. Procure the society of holy Virgins, and widowes; and if there be necessity that you must speake with men, doe not auoyd by-standers; and let your confidence in speach be such, as that you neither tremble, nor blush, when any other body comes in. Let your face be the glasse, wherein your mind may be seene; and let your silent eyes confesse the inward thoughtes of your hart. We find, that lately, a certaine ignominious rumour did flutter throughout all these Esterne partes. Both the age, the fashion, the habite, the pace, the indiscreet conuersation, the exquisite Feasts, the princely prouision of *Nero*, and *Sardanapalus* spake of nothing but marriage. By the correction of the wicked, the wise man will grow so much the wiser. A loue which is holy, is not subiect to impatience. A false report is

soone

soone repreſt, the the later part of a mans dayes, is made the iudge of the former. I confeſſe indeed, that no man can paſſe the courſe of this life, without being bitten by ill report; and wicked men make it their comfort, to caſt reproach vpon the good, as conceuing that their ſinnes are made leſſe faulty by it. But yet a fyer made of ſtraw goes out quickly, and the raging flame is content to dy by little and little, if it be noe longer fed. If fame belyed you the laſt yeare, yea or euen if it ſayd true, let the fault ceaſe now, & the rumour will alſo be at an end. I ſay not this, as if I doubted any ill of you; but becauſe I loue you ſo much, that I feare euen ſuch thinges as are ſafe. O that you might but ſee your ſiſter, and that you might chance to heare the wiſe diſcourſe of that holy mouth; you would diſcerne ſtrange power in that little body. You would perceiue that whole ſuite of ſtuffe, both of the old & new Teſtament, euen boyle out of her holy mouth. She makes a paſtime of faſting, and her delight is her prayer. She holds the Timbrell in her hand, after the example of *Maria*, and *Pharao* being drowned, ſhe inuites the quier of virgins by ſaying thus, *Let vs ſing vnto our Lord, for he is magnifyed after a glorious manner; he hath caſt downe both horſe, and Rider into the ſea*. She addreſſes this kind of ſingers to Chriſt, and ſhe inſtructes this kind of muſique for our Sauiour. So paſſes the day, and ſo the night, and the oyle being prepared for the lampes, the cõming of the ſpouſe is expected. Doe you therefore imitate her. Let *Rome* haue ſuch a one in it, as *Bethleem* poſſeſſes which is leſſe then *Rome*. You are rich, & it is eaſy for you to miniſter the help of food to ſuch as are poore. Let vertue ſpend that which was prouided by you as the matter of luxe, and let no woman feare pouerty, who deſpiſes matrimony. Help to make ſuch virgins, as you may bring into the Kings chamber. Relieue widowes whome you may mingle as ſo many violets, betweene Virgins lillyes, and Martyrs roſes; & make your ſelfe a coronet of ſuch flowers as theſe, inſteed of that crown of thornes in which Chriſt carryed the ſins of the world.

Let your moſt noble Father, both be glad, and be aſſiſted by this example. Now let him learne that of his daughter which he learned before of his wife. Now the hayre

is growne white, the knees tremble, the teeth fall, and the forehead being plowed with wrinkles by his great years, death muſt needes be euen at the gates, and the funerall fire is there at hand. We grow old whether we will or no. Let him make that prouiſion for himſelfe, which is neceſſary for a long iourney. Would he carry that with him, from which he muſt part againſt his will? Nay rather let him ſend it to heauen before him; which if he refuſe to do, the earth will take it.

Theſe younger widowes, *whereof many going backe after Sathan, when they haue beene luxurious againſt Chriſt*, are wont to ſay when they are about to marry a ſecond tyme: *My little fortune is dayly perishing; the inheritance of my auncestours is destroyed, My ſeruant hath ſpoken ſaucily to me; my mayd neglects my commandement; who shall shew himſelfe againſt theſe thinges? VVho shall anſwere the charges which are layd vpon my landes? VVho shall inſtruct my children? who shall bring vp my young she ſlaues?* And, O vnſpeakable wickednes, they bring that as a cauſe of marriage, which euen alone were a ſufficient reaſon to haue hindred it. The Mother bringes not a foſter-father, but an enemy vpon her children; not a Father, I ſay, but a tyrant. Being inflamed by luſt, ſhe forgets the children of her owne wombe; and, in the middeſt of her little ones, who are not capable yet to vnderſtand their miſery, ſhe, who heereafter will lament it, is now tricking her ſelfe vp, like a new bride. Why doe you pretend the care of your patrimony? Why the vnruly pride of your ſeruants? Confeſſe your filthines. No woman marryes a husband, to the end that ſhe may not lye with a man. Or yet if it be true, that you are not vrged by luſt, what kind of madnes is it, that you ſhould proſtitute your chaſtity, after the manner of harlots, to the end of augmenting your eſtate; and that for the obtayning of a baſe and tranſitory end, your chaſtity which is precious, and eternall, ſhould be defiled.

If you haue children already; why deſire you a ſecond marriage? If you haue none; why feare you not that barrenes, whereof already you haue ſome proofe? And why preferre you a thing vncertaine, before purity which is certaine? The contractes of marriage are now written out for you to ſigne, that ſhortly you may be compelled to make your will. Your huſ-

band will counterfeit himſelfe to be ſicke; and that which he deſires you ſhould do, when you are about to dy, he will doe now, when he meanes to liue. Or if it happen, that you haue children by the ſecond husband, there is already a quarell, and a ciuill warre within doores. It ſhall be no longer lawfull for you, to loue your former children, nor ſo much as to looke vp on them with indifferent eyes. If you feed them by ſtealth, he will enuy the dead man, and vnleſſe you hate your childrē, you will ſeeme to be ſtill in loue with their Father. But then, if he hauing children by a former wife, ſhall lead you home to his houſe, all the Comedians, and Verſifyers, and the commō-plea-bookes of the towne, will declame againſt you, as a moſt cruell ſtep-mother, though indeed you ſhould be moſt benigne towardes them. If your ſonne in-law be ſicke, or if he haue but euen an aking head, you ſhall be defamed for a Witch. If your ſelfe giue him not meat, you will be accounted cruell; if you feed him, you will be ſayd to poyſon him. I beſeech you tell me, what good do theſe ſecond marriages produce, which may ſerue to counteruaile ſo great miſeryes.

Would we know what kind of thinges widdowes ought to be? Let vs read the Ghoſpell according to *Luke*. *And Anna the Propheteſſe* (ſayth he) *was the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aſſer*. *Phanuel*, in our tongue ſignifyes *the face of God*; *Aſer*, is tranſlated to ſignify, both *riches* & *felicity*. Becauſe therfore ſhe had endured the burden of widowhood, from her youth til ſhe came to be foureſcore and foure yeares old, and departed not from the Temple of God, inſiſting day and night by faſting & prayer, therefore did ſhe deſerue ſpirituall grace, and to be ſtiled, *the daughter of the face of God*, and to be endowed with the riches, and felicity of her anceſtours. Let vs remember the widow of *Sarepta*, who preferred the hunger of *Elias* before her owne, or her childrens health. So that ſhe being to dye with her ſonne that night, reſolued to leaue her gueſt ſafe behinde her; and choofing rather to looſe her life, then her giuing of almes, did in that handfull of floure, prepare for her ſelfe the ſeminary of a harueſt, from our Lord. The floure is ſowed, & the veſſels of oyle ſpringes out. In *Iury* there was ſcarcity of wheat, for the graine of corne was dead there; & there flowed great

great fountains from the widowes oyle. We read in *Iudith* (if men be yet disposed to receaue that booke) of a widow, who was defeated by fasting, and defaced by mourning weedes, who lamented not her dead husband, but sought the coming of a new spouse, by the extreme neglect of her owne person: I see that she appeares with a warlike sword, and with a bloody right hand. I perceaue she hath the head of *Holophernes*, which she hath brought, euen from the middest of her enemies. A woman ouercomes men, and chastity cuts off the head of lust; and changing suddenly her habit, she comes backe to that conquering neglect of her selfe, more glorious then all the ornaments of this world could giue her. Some there are, who ignorantly reckon *Deborah* among the widowes, & thinke that *Barach* the Captaine, was the sonne of *Deborah*, though the scripture speake otherwise. By vs, she shall be named in regard that she was a Propheteſſe, and is reckened among the number of the Iudges. And becausse she could say, *How sweet are thy wordes to my throat, more then hony or the honycombe to my mouth*; she tooke the name of a *Bee*, being fed by the flowers of holy Scripture, and being imbrued by the odour of the Holy Ghost, and composing the sweet iuyce of *Ambrosia*, with her Prophetical mouth. *Noemi* (which signifyes παρακεκλημένη, and which we may interpret *The comforted*) her husband and children being dead in foraigne parts brought bake her chastity into her country, and being sustained by that prouision, she had a *Moabite* for her sonnes wife, that this prophecy of *Isay* might be fulfilled: *Send forth, O Lord, the Lambe, the subduer of the earth, from the rocke of the desert, to the mountaine of the daughter of Sion*. I come now to the widow of the Ghospell (that poore widow, more rich then all the people of *Israell*) who taking a grayne of Mustard-seed, and putting leuen into three cakes of flower, did by the grace of the holy Ghost, temper a confession of the *Father*, and the Sonne, and did cast two mytes into the Treasury. Whatsoeuer she could be worth in all the world, and all her riches without exception, she offered, in both the Testaments of her fayth. These are the two *Seraphims*, who thrice did glorify the Trinity, and are layd vp for a treasure to the Church, whereupon a burning coale being by the tonges of both those Testa-

Teſtaments, doth purify the lippes of a ſinner.

Why ſhould I repeat theſe auncient particulars, and produce the vertues of woemen out of books, when you may propoſe many to your ſelfe in the Citty, where you liue, whoſe example you ought to imitate. And that I may not ſeeme to ſpeake of them in particular by the way of flattery; the holy *Marſella* will ſerue your turne, who correſponding with the ſtocke wherof ſhe came, hath preſented vs with ſomewhat out of the Ghoſpel. *Anna* liued ſeauen years with her husband, frō the tyme of her virginity; *Marſella* ſeauen moneths. The former expected the coming of Chriſt; this later holdes him faſt, whome that other receaued. The former, ſaw him crying, the later preaches him triumphing. The former ſpoke of him, *to all ſuch as expected the redemption of Iſrael*, the later cryes out thus with the nations, which are now redeemed: *A brother doth not redeeme, a man ſhall redeeme*. And out of another Pſalme: *A man is borne in her, and the moſt high hath founded her*. I remember that almoſt two yeares ſince, I wrote ſome bookes againſt *Iouinian*, wherein by the authority of Scriptures I fully ſatisfyed the queſtions, which came againſt me; where the Apoſtle grants liberty of ſecond mariages. And there is no neceſſity to repete them here at full length, ſince you may haue what I haue writen there. And now that I may not exceed the meaſure of an Epiſtle, I will only giue you this leſſon: *Remember daily that you muſt dye, for then you will not be thinking of a ſecond mariage*.

Saint Hierome to Paulinus, about the inſtitution of a Monke.

A Good man bringeth forth good thinges, out of the good treaſure of his hart; and the Tree is knowne by his fruit. You meaſure vs by your owne vertue, and being great, you extoll vs who are little; and you fill the loweſt roome ar the banket, that you may be aduanced, by his direction who makes the Feaſt. For what is there in vs, or how little is there that we ſhould deſerue to be prayſed, by learned wordes? that we, who are poore and meane, ſhould be commended by that mouth,

mouth, wherby that moſt religious Prince is defended? But do not, my deare brother, eſteeme of me according to the number of my yeares, & value not my wiſedome by my age; but my age by my wiſedome, according to that of *Salomon*: *A mans wiſedome is his grey haires*. For *Moyſes* was commaunded to chooſe ſeuenty ſix ſuch Prieſtes, as he knew to be Prieſtes, that is to ſay, ſuch as were to be eſteemed according to their wiſedome, not according to their age. And *Daniel*, whileſt he was yet a youth, gaue iudgment vpon aged men; and their laſciuiouſnes condemned them of vnchaſtity. I ſay, you muſt not iudge of a mans ſufficiency, after the rate of his age, nor muſt you therefore thinke me to be more vertuous, becauſe I began to ſerue in the campe of Chriſt before you. *Paul* the Apoſtle, was changed from being a perſecuter, to be a veſſell of election, and being laſt in order, he became firſt in merits; becauſe though he were the laſt, *he laboured more then they all*. *Iudas* (of whome it was ſayd, But thou O man, who *diddeſt eate familiarly with me, and waſt my captaine, and we walked togeather in the houſe of God*) was the betrayer of his friend, and of his Maſter; and was reproued by our Sauiours wordes, and tyed the knot of his owne vgly death, vpon a high tree. On the other ſide the theefe exchanged the Croſſe for Paradice, and made that puniſhment of his murders, to ſtand for Martyrdome.

How many do at this day, euen by liuing long carry themſelues (as it were) dead to Church, and being whited ſepulchres without, are full of dead mens bones within. A ſudden luſty heat is better then a long tepidity. In fine you hearing thoſe words of our Sauiour (*If thou wilt be perfect go, and ſell all though haſt, and giue it to the poore, and follow me*) do turne thoſe wordes into deeds; & being naked do follow the naked Croſſe; and ſo doe more lightly and nimbly clime vp *Iacobs* ladder you haue changed you mind with your habite, and do not, with a full purſe, affect any glorious kind of filth, but with cleane hand and a pure hart, you prize your ſelfe to be poore in deed, and in ſpirit. For there is no great matter, in counterfetting or making oſtentation of faſting, by carrying a pale and wanne face about; and for a man to bragge of carrying a poore cloake vpon his backe, when he is rich in reuenues. That *Cra-*

tes of *Thebes*, who formerly had bene extremely rich, when he came to be a Philosopher at *Athens*, cast away a great somme of gold, nor did he thinke that a man could possesse vertue and riches, both together. But we, being all stuffed with gold, will needs follow Christ, who was so poore; and attending to our former rich estates, vnder the pretence of enabling our selues to giue almes, how shall we distribut the goods of other men faithfully to others, when we do so fearfully reserue our owne? It is an easy matter for a full belly to dispute of fasting.

It deserues no comendation to haue liued at *Ierusalem*; but to haue liued there wel. *That Citty is to be desired, that to be praised, not which kils the Prophets, and which hath spilt the blood of Christ; but which the impetuousnes of the riuer doth make glad; which placed vpon the hill, cannot be concealed*; which the Apostle cals *the mother of Saints*; *of which Citty he reioyces, that he is made a free-denison*. Neither yet by saying this, do I taxe my selfe of inconstancy, or condemne that, which I do; that so I should in vayne seem to haue left my friends, and country, after the example of *Abraham*: but I dare not circumscribe the omnipotency of God to so narrow as compasse; and to confine him to a small place of the earth, whom heauen is not able to contayne. The faithfull are not waighed by the diuersity of places, but by the merit of their faith. And they who are true adorers, adore not the father either in *Ierusalem*, or in *Mount Gasarim*: for God is a spirit, and they *must do it in spirit, and truth. The spirit breaths where it will. The earth & the fulnes therof, is our Lords.* Since the whole world was bathed with that celestial dew, the fleece of *Iury* being dry, *and many coming from the East and VVest, haue reposed in the bosome of Abraham, God hath giuen ouer to be only knowne in Iury, and to haue his name great in Israell; but the sound of the Apostles, is now gone ouer the whole earth, and their wordes euen to the ends of the world*. Our Sauiour speaking to his Disciples when he was in the Temple, sayd thus; *Ryse vp, let vs goe hence*. And to the Iews; *Your house shall be left desert to you*. If heauen & earth shall passe, certainly all thinges which are earthly, shall passe. And therfore the places of the Crosse, and Resurrection, shall profit thē, who carry their Crosse; who ryse daily with Christ, and who make themselues worthy of such an excellent habitation. But

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they who say, *The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord*; Let them heare the Apostle say, *You are the temple of our Lord, and the holy Ghost dwells in you*. And that heauenly Court is open alike, both towardes *Hierusalem*, and towardes *Britanny*. *For the kingdome of God is within you*. *Anthony*, and all those swarmes of Monkes of *Egypt*, and *Mesopotamia*, *Pontus*, *Capadocia*, and *Armenia* neuer saw *Hierusalem*, and heauen is open to them without any relation to this Citty. Blessed *Hilarion*, who was of *Palestine*, and liued there, did neuer spend but one day in the seeing of *Hierusalem*, to the end, that being so neere hand, he might neither seeme to contemne those holy places, nor yet on the other side, might seeme to shut vp our Lord in any one place. From the tymes of *Adrian*, to the empire of *Constantine* (which imported about the tyme of a hundred and foure score yeares) in the place of the Resurrection, there was an Idoll of *Iupiter*. In the rocke of the Crosse, there was placed a marble statue of *Venus* to be worshipped. The persecutours who were authours therof, conceiuing that they might abolish our Fayth of the Resurrection, and of the Crosse, when they had polluted the holy places by their Idols. That wood which is called *Thamus*, that is to say, of *Adonis*, did ouershaddow the most imperiall place of the whole world, namely this *Bethleem* of ours, whereof the *Psalmist* sayth: *Truth is sprung out of the earth*, and in that hollow place where Christ being an Infant did once cry, the paramour of *Venus* was lamented. But you will aske me to what end I am so large in this particular? To the end that you may not thinke, that any thing is wanting to your fayth, because you haue not beene at *Hierusalem*; and that you may not esteeme vs to be the better men, because we enioy this habitation. But whether you liue here or there, you shall obtaine of our Lord, a reward which shall be equall to your workes.

But yet that I may plainely confesse what the pulse of my hart is in this businesse, considering both your purpose, & that ardour of mind wherewith you haue disclaimed the world, I do really belieue, that you will then find difference in places, if forsaking Cittyes & the concourse of people which is found therein, you will dwell in some little retyred corner, & seeke Christ in the desert, and pray alone in the mountaine with Iesus,

Iesus, & enioy the neighbour-hood of these holy places. That is to say, that both you may estrange your selfe from the Citty, and not loose the purpose of being a Monke. I speake not this for Bishops, or Priests, who haue other imployments; but I speake of it for a Monke, and such a one as formerly was noble in the world, who layd the price of his possessions at the feet of the Apostles; thereby teaching, that money was to be troden vnder foot, that so liuing in humility and secrecy, he might continue to despise that, which he had once despised. If the places of the Crosse, and of the Resurrection were not exceedingly frequented in this Citty, where there is a Court, where there is a guarde of souldiers, where there are lasciuious people iesters, mimickes, and all other things which were wont to be in other Citties; or if it were only frequented by troopes of Monkes; all Monkes indeed might well desire such an habitation as this. But now it is extreme folly, for a man to renounce the world, to forgoe his country, to forsake his Cittyes, to professe Monasticall life; and then to liue in greater concourse of men abroad, then he was to haue liued in his owne country. Men flocke hither from all the partes of the world; the Citty is full of all kind of people, and there is such a crowding here of folkes of both sexes, that here you are to endure that whole incouenience, whereof you auoyded but a part, by going from any other place.

Since therefore you doe so confidently aske me by what way you are to goe. I will vnmaske my selfe, and tell you clearely what I thinke. If you will exercise the office of a Priest, if you be delighted in the imployment of Episcopal dignity, liue in Citties and Townes; and procure that the saluation of others soules may be profitable to yours. But if you desire to be that which now you are called, that is to say, a Monke, which signifyes to be a solitary person; what make you in Citties, which are not the habitations of seuerall single persons, but of many who liue togeather? Euery profession hath his chiefes. Let Captaines of Roman armyes, imitate the *Camillo's*, the *Fabricio's*, the *Regulo's*, and the *Scipio's*. Let Philosophers propound to themselues *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*. Let Poets imitate *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Menander*, and *Terence*.

Historians

Hiſtorians, *Thucydides*, *Saluſt*, *Herodotus*, *Liuy*; Orators, *Lyſias* the *Gracchi*, *Demoſthenes*, & *Tully*. And (that we may come neerer to our ſelues,) let Biſhops and Prieſts haue the Apoſtles and Apoſtolicall perſons for their patternes, & let them endeauour to haue their merit, ſince they haue their honour. But let vs haue for the prime men of our inſtitute, the *Paulo's*, the *Anthonies*, the *Iulians*, *Hilarions*, and the *Macario's*. And (that I may returne to the authority of ſcriptures) our Generall is *Elias*, and *Elizeus*; and our Captaines are the ſonnes of the Prophets, who dwelt in ſolitary places and deſerts, and who made Tabernacles for themſelues, neer the waters of *Iordan*. The children of *Rechab*, are of this kind, *who drunke no wine, nor other thing that could inebriat*; *who dwelt in Tents*, who were praiſed in *Ieremy*, by the voice of God; and it was promiſed to them, that ſome one of their ſtocke, ſhould not be wanting, who might ſtand before our Lord. This I thinke is ſignifyed by the title of the 70. Pſalme, ſpeaking of the ſonnes of *Ionadab*, and of them, who were led into captiuity. This is *Ionadab* the ſonne of *Rechab*, who is affirmed in the booke of Kinges, to haue mounted the chariot of *Hieu*, and his ſonnes they are, who (euer dwelling in Tents, and being at laſt compelled vpon the breaking in of the Army of *Chaldea*; to enter into *Hieruſalem*) are ſaid to haue bene the firſt, who were led into captiuity; becauſe after hauing enioyed the large liberty of a deſert, they were ſhut vp in that Citty, as if it had bene a priſon. I beſeech you therefore, becauſe that holy Siſter of yours hath a kind of tye vpon you, and for that you paſſe not on as yet, with a pace which is wholly free, yet whether you be here or there, fly from complements, and viſits, and feaſts, as from certaine chaines which will tye you to pleaſure. Let your food be meane, as herbes, and pulſe; and take it not till night; and little fiſhes ſometimes, which you muſt hold for a great delicacy. He who deſires Chriſt, and feeds vpon that bread, muſt not greatly care of how pretious meates his excrement be made: whatſoeuer delicate thing you eat is all one with bread and pulſe, when once it is paſſed downe below the throat. You haue two bookes of myne againſt *Iouinian*, of the contempt of delight in eating. Let your hand euer haue in it ſome holy booke.

You muſt often pray with your knees bent, & your mind muſt be raiſed vp to our Lord. You muſt watch often, and often ſleepe with an empty ſtomacke. Theſe carryers o tales and theſe prety little vanities, and ſmoothing flatterers, you muſt fly like ſo many enemyes. Diſpence your almes with your owne hand, for the eaſe of the charge of poore and vertuous people. Honeſty is growne rare amongſt men. Doe you not believe what I ſay? Thinke of *Iudas* his purſe.

Do not affect poore cloathes, with a prowd mind. What need haue you to ſee thoſe thinges often, for the contempt whereof you became a Monke. Eſpecially let your ſiſter decline the conuerſation of theſe Matrons, and let her haue no cauſe, either to be ſorry for her ſelfe, or to admire her ſelfe, when ſhe ſees her ſelfe all neglected and ill clad, amongſt the ſilkes and iewels of other woemen, who ſit about her. For one of theſe two will bring you to repent your good purpoſe, & the other is a Seminary of vainglory. Take heed that you, who haue formerly bene a faithfull & excellent diſpencer of your owne goods, take not vpon you to diſtribute the money of other folkes. You conceaue well what I ſay: for our Lord hath giuen you a very vniuerſall vnderſtanding. Carry the ſimplicity of a doue, that you procure not to deceiue any man; and the ſubtility of a ſerpent, that you be not ſupplanted by the ſleights of others. It is not much leſſe vitious for a Chriſtian, to be deceiued then to deceaue. Whom you ſhal find to be euer, or often ſpeaking of money (except it be in the way of almes, which muſt be open to all) hold him rather to be, a merchaunt, then a Monke. Beſides that which muſt ſerue for food, and cloathing, and other manifeſt neceſſities, doe not giue to any, *leaſt the dogs, eate vp the childrens bread*. The believing ſoule is a true temple of Chriſt. Apparel that, adorne that, offer preſents to that, and receiue Chriſt in that. For what ſerues it, that the wals ſhould gliſter with pretious ſtones, and that Chriſt ſhould be in danger to dy of hunger, in the perſon of a poore man? They are no goods of yours, which you poſſeſſe, but you are only truſted with diſpenſing them. Remember *Ananias*, and *Saphira*. They did too miſerably keepe their owne; and take you heed, that imprudently you ſcatter not

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the ſubſtance of Chriſt; that is to ſay, that by indiſcretion or affection, you beſtowe not the goods of the poore, vpon ſuch as are not poore; and that (according to the laying of that moſt wiſe man) *Liberality, be not deſtroyed by liberality*. Do not looke backe vpon the martiall ornaments, and the vayne title of the Cato's. I know you within, euen to the very rootes. It is a high poynt, to be indeed & not only to ſeem a Chriſtian; And I know not how, but ſo it is, that *they, who pleaſe the world, diſpleaſe Chriſt*.

I ſpeake not theſe thinges, as if according to the Prouerbe, *The ſowe were teaching a leſſon to Minerua*, but now that you are ſetting to Sea, I haue admoniſhed you as one friend ſhould do another: chooſing, that you ſhould rather obſerue my skill to be little, then my good will; and deſiryng that wherein I haue ſlipt, you may paſſe on with a firme pace.

I haue gladly read that booke, which you compoſed for the Emperour *Theodoſius*, with much prudence and eloquence; and eſpecially I liked the ſubdiuiſion thereof. And as in the firſt parts, you ouercome others, ſo in the later you outſtrip your ſelfe. The very manner of diſcourſe is cloſe, and cleane, and together with the purity of *Tully* it is full of ſentences. For that kind of eloquence (as one ſaith) is but cold and weake, when onely the words deſerue praiſe. Beſides, you make your conſequences of thinges very well, & one thing hangs handſomly vpon another. Whatſoeuer you aſſume, is either an end of that which goes before, or a begining of that which followes. *Theodoſius* is happy, in being defended by ſuch an Orator of Chriſt. You haue giuen luſtre to his princely roabes, and you haue conſecrated the profitablenes of his lawes, to ſucceeding ages. Proceed on in vertue you, who haue layd ſo good foundations. What kind of ſouldier will you proue when you haue experience? O that I were ſo happy, as to haue the leading of ſuch a wit as yours, not through the *Aonian* mountaynes and thoſe tops of the hill of *Helicon*, (whereof the Poets ſpeake) but by the tops of *Sion*, and *Itabirium*, and *Sina*. If I might but teach you, what I haue learned, and deliuer the myſteries of Scriptures, as it were into your hands, ſome ſuch thing would grow vp to vs, as the learned *Greece* neuer had.

Hearken therefore my fellow ſeruant, my freiend, my brother; obſerue a little, by what path you are to walke, in the holy Scripture. All that which we read in thoſe diuine bookes, doth ſhine indeed, and that brightly, euen in the barke, but it is much ſweeter in the ſubſtance and depth thereof. He who wil eat the kernell, muſt breake the nut: *Reueal myne eyes* (ſaith *Dauid*) *and I will conſider the wonderfull thinges of thy law*. If ſo great a Prophet confeſſe ſo great darkenes of ignorance; with what a night of ſtupidity may we conceiue our ſelues to be enuironed, who are but little ones, and as it were but ſucking babes? But this veyle was not onely put vpon the face of *Moyſes*, but vpon that alſo of the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles. Our Sauiour ſpake to the people in parables; & auowing that that which he deliuered had ſomewhat in it of the *Myſtical*, he ſaid, *He who hath eares to heare, let him heare*. Vnles all things which are written of him be opened by him, who hath the keye of Dauid, *which ſhuts and no man opens, and which opens and no man ſhuts*, they will neuer be diſcloſed by any other. If you had this ground, and if your worke were perfected by this laſt hand, we ſhould haue nothing more gracefull, nothing more learned, nothing more delightfull, nothing more Latin then your bookes. *Tertullian* is frequent in ſentences, but of no very delightfull ſpeech. *Bleſſed Cyprian* walkes on, all ſweet and ſmooth; like a moſt pure fountayne, but (employing himſelfe wholy vpon the exerciſe of vertue, and taken vp by the troubles of perſecution) he diſcourſed not at all of holy Scriptures. *Victorinus*, who was after crowned with an illuſtrious martyrdome, is not able to expreſſe what he vnderſtands. *Lactantius*, who was a very flood of *Ciceronian* eloquence, I would to God he could as well haue confirmed our doctrine, as he did eaſily confute that of others. *Arnobius* was vnequall, and ſubiect to exceſſe, and with al confuſed, without diuiding his worke. Saint *Hilary* is aloft in his french ſtile, and hauing the ornament of thoſe flowers of *Gracian eloquence*, he is iuuolued ſometimes in long periods; and is farre out of the reach of ordinary men. I paſſe ouer the reſt in ſilence, whether they be dead, or ſtill aliue, of whom others may iudge either way, after our time.

And noW I come to you, who are my fellow in profeſ-

ſion

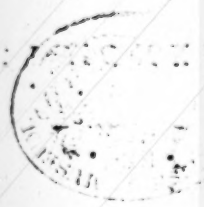
ſion, my companion, and my friend, (I ſay my friend, though you be not yet of my acquaintance) and I will pray you, not to ſuſpect my friendſhip of flattery, bur rather conceiue, that I am in errour, or that I ſlip through the loue I beare you; then that I would deceiue a friend, by ſpeaking him fayre. You haue a great wit, and an vnſpeakeable ſtore and copie of ſpeech; and you expreſſe your ſelfe purely, and with eaſe, and the ſame facility and purity is ſeaſoned with prudence; for the head being ſound, all the ſences are in vigour. If labour and the vnderſtanding of Scripture were added to this prudence, & eloquence, we ſhould ſee you in a ſhort time to hold the very higheſt place amongſt our men; and (aſcending vp to the houſe of *Sion*, with *Iacob*) to ſing vpon the houſe tops, that which you had learned and knowne in the priuate roomes of the houſe. Gird your ſelfe vp, I beſeech you, gird your ſelfe vp. Nothing of this world is giuen to mortall men, but vpon the price of great labour. Let the Church haue you noble, as the Senate had you in former time; and now prepare riches for your ſelfe, which you may daily beſtowe, and yet will neuer fayle, as long as the world laſts. Doe it whileſt yet your head is not ſprinkled with grey haires; before you be ouergrowne with diſeaſes, and melancholy, and old age, and payne, and before ſad death carryes vs vnmercifully away. I cannot be content with any mediocrity in you; but I deſire that all may be eminent, all excellent. With what greedy gladnes I haue receaued the holy Biſhop *Vigilantius*, it is fitter that you learne by his wordes, then by my letters. Vpon what ground he went hence, and left vs ſo ſoon, I muſt not ſay, leaſt I may ſeem to offend ſome. I haue entertayned him a while as he was paſſing by in haſt; and I haue giuen him a taſte of our friendſhip, to the end that you may learne by him, that which you deſire to know of me. I entreat that by your meanes, I may ſalute your fellow ſeruant, who labours with you in our Lord.

FINIS.

5 JY 62

THE LIVES OF SAINT PAVL THE FIRST HERMITE, OF SAINT HILARION THE FIRST MONKE OF SYRIA, AND OF SAINT MALCHVS.

Written by Saint Hierome.



THE LIFE OF SAINT PAVL THE HERMITE,

WRITTEN BY S. HIEROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

PAVL *of* Thebais *hauing about the age of* 15 *yeares, being instructed in the literature as well of the* Græcians, *as of the* Ægyptians, *both his Parents being dead, and he accused by his Sisters husband, for being a Christian, and flying from* Decius *and* Valerianus *the persecutors, betooke himselfe to the wildernes. There did he lead his life, by the space of ninety foure yeares, in admirable abstinence and sanctity till such tyme as being visited by that great* Anthony *(who was directed so to do by a diuine reuelation) he slept in our Lord. The life of this* Paul, *is elegantly described by* Saint Hierome.

THE LIFE.

IT hath beene often doubted among many, by what Monke the Desart was first inhabited. Some haue reached at it so high, as to ascribe the first beginning to B. *Elias*, & then to *Iohn*. But *Elias* seemes to vs, to haue rather beene a Prophet, then a Monke; and *Iohn* to haue begun to be a kind of a Prophet, before he was borne. But some others

affirme (and they haue brought the whole vulgar to be of their opinion) that *Anthony* was the firſt in vndertaking this kind of life, which yet is but partly true. For it is not ſo properly to be ſayd, that he was the firſt of all the Eremites, as that he gaue ſpirit to the endeauours, and deſignes of them all. But *Amathas* and *Macharius*, who were the diſciples of this *Anthony* (and whereof the former buryed the body of his Maiſter) affirme euen to this day, that a certaine *Paul* of *Thebais*, was the chiefe, and prime man of this Inſtitute, which opinion we alſo approue, though not ſo much, becauſe he carries the name of it, as vpon other reaſons. Many there are who ſpread abroad both theſe, and other thinges at their pleaſure, as namely that there was a certaine man all hairy to his very feet, who hid himſelfe in a hoale vnder ground, and they deuiſe many incredible thinges, not worth the relating; and ſince their affirmation is ſo voyd of ſhame, their opinion ſeemes not worthy of confutation. But now for as much as a diligent account hath beene giuen vs of this *Anthony*, both in the Greeke and Latin tongue, I haue diſpoſed my ſelfe to write ſome few thinges of the beginning, & end of *Paul*; rather becauſe it hath beene omitted by others, then that I preſume vpon my ſelfe. For as for the manner of his life, in the middle part of his age, and what ſubtil ſly temptations of Sathan he ſuſtayned, there is no mortall man, who can tell vs any newes thereof.

Vnder *Decius* and *Valerianus* the perſecutors, at ſuch time as *Cornelius* at *Rome*, & *Cyprian* at *Carthage*, were condēned to the felicity of ſhedding their blood, many Churches in *Aegipt* & *Thebais*, were blaſted by a bitter ſtorme of perſecution. The Chriſtians of that time, deſired no better then to giue their liues for the name of Chriſt, by the compendious ſtroke of the ſword; but the crafty aduerſary going in ſearch after ſlower puniſhments, for the deliuery of men ouer to death, did more deſire to cut the throates of ſoules, then of bodies; and (as was ſaid by *Cyprian*, who himſelfe ſuffered Martirdome) he would not permit them to be killed, who were euen deſirous to dye. And now to the end that his cruelty may be the

more

more notorious, we haue heere committed two examples to memory.

When a certaine Martyr was perſeuering in his faith, and continued to be conquerors in the middeſt both of rackes, & burning plates, the perſecutor commanded that he ſhould be anoynted all ouer with hony and ſo (with his handes bound behind him) be extended vnder a ſcorching Sunne with his face vpward; to the end that he might yeild himſelfe, vpon the ſting of flyes, who before, had bene victorious ouer the torments of fyer. He commanded another Martyr, who was flouriſhing in the very prime of his youth to be led aſide into a moſt delicious garden & there in the middeſt of pure lyllies, and bluſhing roſes, (where alſo a ſtreame of water was creeping on with a ſoft bubling noiſe, and the wind gently whiſling checkt the leaues of the trees) to be ſpred with his face vpward vpon a bed ſtuffed with downe, and to be left tyed there with ſilken bandes, to the end that ſo he might not be able to deliuer himſelfe from thence. Now vpon the retiring of all them who were preſent, a beautifull Curtiſan came to make her approach, and began with her delicate armes, to embrace his necke; and (which cannot be modeſtly related) did alſo impurely touch him otherwiſe, to the end that his body being altered, and inflamed by luſt the laſciuious conquerors might ouerſpred him. This ſouldier of the band of Chriſt, knew not what to do, nor which way to turne himſelfe, whome torments had not ſubdued, delight was beginning to ouercome, when at length (inſpired from heauen) he bit of his owne tongue, & ſpitting it into the face of her, who kiſſed him, the ſenſe of luſt, was ſubdued, by the ſharpenes of that payne which ſucceeded.

At that time therefore, when ſuch thinges as theſe were acted, in the inferiour *Thebais*, (when the Siſter of *Paul* was then already beſtowed by him in marriage, (himſelfe hauing a rich inheritance deſcended to him by the death of both his Parents; whileſt then he was of the age of about fifteene years) and hauing beene eminently inſtructed in the literature both of the *Gracians* and *Egyptians*, & indued with

a meeke ſpirit, & which greatly loued God, and finding that the ſtorme of perſecutions brought ſuch thunder with it), he tooke a reſolution of retiring into a remote, and priuate villa of his owne.

But, O thou vaſt deſire of gould;
How hugely doeſt thou make men bould?

His Siſters husband grew to betray him, whome he ought to haue concealed; nor could the teares of the wife nor the reſpects of common blood, nor the conſideration of God behoulding all thinges from on high, diſſwade him from that wickednes. But cruelty vrged him to do thoſe thinges, though the pretext which it tooke was from piety. Now as ſoone as this moſt diſcreet young man grew to vnderſtand thus much, he fled towardes the deſart Mountaynes, where he might expect the end of this perſecution, and ſo voluntarily he made a vertue of neceſſity. And proceeding on by little and little, and then pawſing, and often doing the ſame thing; at laſt he met with a great rocky hill, neer the bottome whereof there was a large kind of caue ſhut vp by a ſtone. Vpon the remouing of which ſtone he being more earneſt in making new diſcoueries (according to the nature of man which loues the knowledge of hidden thinges) he perceaued a great entry there within, which being open to the sky aboue, was ouerſpred by the wide braunches of an ould Palme tree, poynting out a moſt cleare fountayne, the ſtreame whereof breaking onely out of the ground, the ſame earth which had brought it forth did inſtantly ſucke it vp againe, through a little hole. There were moreouer, throughout that worne mountayne not a few old roomes, wherein there might be ſeene certaine anuiles, & hammers, which by that tyme were growen rough with ruſt, and formerly had beene imployed vpon ſtamping coyne. And it is related by the Ægyptians, that this place had beene vſed as a ſecret mint-houſe of money, at ſuch tyme as *Cleopatra* kept that cloſe intelligence with *Antonius*. But *Paul* growing now to carry a particular kind of loue to this Caue, as if it had beene expreſſely deſigned to him by Almighty God, did there imploy his whole life in ſolitude & prya-

prayer. The Palme-tree ſerued his turne, both to affoard him food, and cloathes. Which, that no man may thinke impoſſible, I take Ieſus, and his holy Angels to witnes, how, in that part of the deſart, which ioynes *Syria* and *Sarazens* togeather, I haue ſeene certaine Monkes, whereof one being a recluſe, had liued during thirty yeares, vpon barly bread, and puddle water; and another who continuing in an old Ceſterne, which the *Syrians* in their language call *Caba*, was ſuſtayned by the only eating of fiue dryed Figs euery day. Theſe thinges will ſeeme incredible to them who are of vnbelieuing minds, for to others, all thinges are poſſible.

But to returne to that from which I had digreſſed, when now the B. *Paul* had lead a celeſtiall life on earth, being by that tyme, a hundred and thirteen yeares ould, and when *Anthony* hauing ninety yeares of age, had remayned alone in another Deſart, as himſelfe was wont to relate; a thought ſlipt once into the ſayd *Anthonyes* mind, as if no perfect Monke remayned in that wildernes, beſides himſelfe. But whileſt he was at reſt by night, it was reuealed to him, that there was another much more excellent then he, whome he was appointed to find out, and viſit. Therefore inſtantly vpon breake of day, the venerable ould mã, vphoulding his weake limmes by the ſupport of a ſtaffe diſpoſed himſelf to be going, though he knew not directly whether. But ſhortly then the high noone began to inflame the world vnder a ſcorching Sunne, and yet he was not diſcouraged from his new iourney, but ſayd: *I confide that my God will shew me that ſeruant of his, whome he hath promiſed*. Not a word more then this, when behould he ſees a creature made of horſe & man, ſuch as Poets are wont to call *Hippocentaures*. Vpon which ſight, he armes his forehead with the impreſſion of that ſalutiferous ſigne, and ſayth: *Tell me, O thou, where dwells that ſeruant of God?* But he gnaſhing out I know not what kind of barbarous ſound, and rather breaking then pronouncing his wordes, did yet by meanes of that horrid ſpeach, deſire to entertaine ſome pleaſing diſcourſe, with the old man; and by extending his right hand, made diſcouery of the way which was ſought, and ſo ſtriking through thoſe open

plaines, with a ſwift flight, he vaniſhed out of the wõdring eyes of the behoulder. Now whether the Diuell did contriue theſe thinges to fright the man, or els whether the wildernes, which is wont to be fruitful of monſtruous creaturs, did alſo bring forth this beaſt, or no, is vncertaine to vs. But *Anthony* the while, being all amazed, and reuoluing within himſelfe what he had ſeene, proceeded on. And behould he perceaues in a certaine ſtony deſcent, which lay betweene two hilles, a kind of little man, with a crooked noſe, and a rugged brow with hornes, the lower parte of whoſe body was made vp into the feet of a Goat. And *Anthony* being alſo ſtroken by this ſpectacle, tooke inſtantly to himſelfe the buckler of fayth, and the breſt-plate of hope, like a good warryer, but yet the aforeſayd *Animal*, brought him the fruit of Palmes, for his prouiſion, as pledges of peace. Vpon the vnderſtanding of this, *Anthony* made a pauſe, and demanding of the other who he was, receaued this anſwere: *A mortall creature I am, and one of the inhabitants of the deſart, whome the Pagans, being deluded with variety of errour are wont to worship, by the name of* Fawnes, Satyres, *and* Incubo's, *I performe the office of an Embaſſadour for the reſt of the flocke whereof I am. And our ſuit is, that thou wilt pray for vs to our cõmon God, whome we know to be come for the ſaluation of the world, & the ſound of him is extended ouer all the earth.* Whileſt he was deliuering theſe words, our aged trauayler did abundantly bedew his face with tears which the greatnes of his ioy ſent forth, as the interpretors of his hart; for he reioyced in the glory of Chriſt, and the deſtruction of Sathan. And wondring withall, that he was able to vnderſtand the others ſpeach, and ſtricking vpon the ground with his ſtaffe, he ſayd: *VVo be to thee, O Alexandria, who worshipeſt Monſters inſteed of God. VVoe be to thee, O thou adulterous Citty, to which the Diuells of the whole world reſort. VVhat remaines for thee now to ſay? Beaſts publish Chriſt, and thou worshipeſt Monſters, inſteed of God.* Nor had he yet ended ſpeaking, when behould the clouen footed creature flead away, as if it had beene borne by winges. That this may not moue ſcruple, through the mind, which men haue, not to belieue; it was made good vnder King *Conſtantine*, by the teſti-

teſtimony of all the world, that ſuch a kind of man as this being brought aliue to *Alexandria*, became a ſpectacle to the whole people, and when the body was once without life, it was ſalted for feare of corrupting through the heat of the ſeaſon, and brought to *Antioch*, that the Emperour might alſo ſee it.

But, to proceed in my purpoſe. *Anthony* went on in his way, as he had begun, diſcerning no other thing, then the footſteps of Bufaloes, & wiid beaſtes, and the vnlimited vastity of a *deſart*. He knew not what to do, nor which way to direct his courſe. Already the ſecond day was ſpent, and there remayned now but one, wherein he hoped that he ſhould not be forſaken by Chriſt. He ſpent that whole ſecond night in prayer, and while yet it was no more then twylight, he diſcerned a ſhe Wolfe farre off, who panting through the heat of thirſt, crept neer to the foot of a mountayne. He followed her with his eyes, and drawing neer (when the beaſt was gone) to a certaine caue thereby, he was beginning to looke in; his curioſity not ſeruing his turne, becauſe the darkenes droue backe his ſight. But as the ſcripture ſaith, *Perfect loue diſpatches feare away*; and ſo moderating his pace, and houlding his breath, the cuning ſpy went in; and ſometimes going on, and then often ſtaying againe, he ſucked vp euery little noiſe into his eare. At laſt, through the horrour of that deepe darkenes, he diſcerned light farre off, and going on with a kind of greedy haſt, his foot gaue againſt a ſtone, and made a noyſe. Vpon the ſound whereof, the bleſſed *Paul* ſhut, and locked the doore, which had bene open before. But *Anthony* then caſt himſelfe outright before the gates, and was begging entrance, till it had growen to be the ſixth houre of the day & more, ſaying: *You know who I am; from whence, and for what cauſe I come, I confeſſe that I deſerue not to appeare in your preſence; but yet vnles I ſee you, I will not retire. You who receaue beaſtes, how can you reiect a man? I haue ſought now; and I haue found now; and now I knocke, that it may be opened to me. If I obtaine not thus much, I will dye heer at your gates; at leaſt you will not refuſe to bury me, when I ſhall be dead.*

Such

Such thinges as this he ſpake; and fixed ſtayed;
To whom the Heroe, this short anſwere made.

No man doth ſo deſire, as that he wil threaten withall. No man accompanies his teares with iniury or reproach. And can you meruayle if I receaue you not, when your errand is but to dye at the gate. Then did *Paul* ſmile, and open the doore; which was no ſooner done, but they did euen incorporate themſelues by mutuall embracements, and ſaluting one another by their proper names, did ioyne in giuing thãkes to our Lord. Now *Paul* ſitting downe with *Anthony*, after he had giuen him a holy kiſſe, began thus to ſpeake; *Behould how he, whom you haue ſought with ſo great labour, is all couered with rude gray haires, and hath his body euen rotten already with ould age. Behould yow ſee a man, who is shortly to become duſt. But yet becauſe charity endures all thinges, tell me, I beſeech yow, how fares it with the race of mankind? Are new houſes erected, in thoſe ould Cities. To what Empire is the world ſubiect now; whether yet remayne there any who are tranſported by the ſinne of worshipping diuels.* As they were in ſpeech of theſe thinges, they looked vp, and ſaw a Crow ſitting vpon the braunch of a tree, who flying gently downe layed a whole loaf of bread before their wondring eyes. Whẽ the Crow was gone, *Behould* (ſaith *Paul*) *our Lord who is truly full of pitty and mercy, hath ſent vs our dinner. They are already threeſcore yeares, ſince I haue dayly receiued halfe a loaf; but now vpon our arriuall, Chriſt hath doubled the proviſion of his ſouldiers.* When therefore they had performed the action of thankes giuing to our Lord, they both ſat downe vpon the brimme of a cleare fountayne. But heer the queſtion growing between them vpon the poynt of who ſhould breake the bread, did almoſt draw downe the day to Euening. *Paul* vrged *Anthony* to do it, vpon the right of hoſpitality which *Paul* was to pay; but *Antony* excuſed himſelf, vpon the reſpects which he ought to the antiquity of the other. At length this reſolution was takẽ that both of them ſhould take hould of the bread, which each of them, pulling by contrary wayes towards himſelfe, might find his part in his owne handes. After this, they ſtooped to the fountayne, and tooke a taſt of the water, and offering vp the Sacrifice of praiſe to God, they paſſed through

that

that night in watching. And as ſoone as the world ſaw day agayne, the B. *Paul* ſpake to *Anthony* after this manner. *It is long O brother, ſince I knew you were an Inhabitant of theſe parts, it is long ſince God made me a promiſe, that I ſhould haue you as a fellow ſeruant of myne. But now becauſe the time of my long repoſe is at hand, and for (that according to my deſire of being diſſolued & being with Chriſt,) there remaynes a crowne of Iuſtice for me, vpon the finiſhing of my courſe; you are ſent by our Lord, to couer this poore body with earth, or rather to reſtore one earth to another.* Vpon the hearing of theſe wordes, *Anthony* (all in teares and ſighes,) beſought him not to forſake him ſo, but to accept him for a companion in that Iourney. But then *Paul* replyed thus: *You muſt not deſire thinges for your ſelfe, but condeſcend to the conueniencies of others. It were good indeed for you, if laying downe the burdō of flesh and blood, you might follow the lambe; but it is alſo expedient for the reſt of your brethren, that they may be more inſtructed by your example. I beſeech you therefore returne, (vnles my ſuit be of too much trouble to you) and bring that Cloake for the wrapping vp of this poore body, which Athanaſius the Biſhop beſtowed vpon you.* This requeſt was made by the bleſſed *Paul*, not becauſe he greatly cared, whether his corps were to putrify naked, or coured (he who had liued ſo many yeares, without any other garment then of the woeuen leaues of palmes,) but to the end that the griefe for his death, might be aſſwaged in the mind of *Anthony*, by his departing away. But *Anthony* being amazed at that which had bene ſayd to him, cōcerning *Athanaſius* & his cloak, as if he had ſeen Chriſt in *Paul*, did worſhip God in his perſon, and preſumed not to make him any anſwere, but ſhedding teares in ſilence, & kiſſing both his hands and eyes, he returned to his Monaſtery, which was afterward takē by the *Saracens*. Neither did his feet ſuffer his hart to out ſtrippe them; for though his body, being extenuated by faſting, were then alſo defeated by his many yeares, yet with his mind he ouercame his age. At length, all weary & panting, he ended his iorney, and got home. And when two of his diſciples, who had beene wont to ſerue him a long time before, came running towards him with theſe words, *Where, O Father, haue you been, and ſtayed ſo long?* He anſwered: *Woe be*

to me ſinfull man, who carry but the falſe name of a Monke, I haue ſeen Elias, I haue ſeen a Iohn in the deſart, and I haue truly ſeen Paul in a paradiſe. And ſo holding his peace, and beating his breaſt with his hand, he fetch the cloake out of his little *Cell.* And his diſciples beſeeching him that he would declare more fully what the matter was, he anſwered thus: *There is a tyme for ſilence, and a tyme for ſpeech.* Then going forth, and taking not ſo much as a bit of food, he returned by the ſame way he came, thirſting after him, deſiring to behould him, and contemplating him, both with eyes, and hart. For he was full of feare leaſt (as indeed it came to paſſe) the other ſhould in his abſence, render vp that ſpirit of his, which was due to Chriſt. And when the next day was come, & he had iorneyed ſome three houres, he ſaw *Paul*, brightly ſhyning, in pure whitenes, & aſcending vp on high, in the middeſt of troupes of *Angels*, and of the quiers of *Prophets*, and *Apoſtles*. Then *Anthony* caſting himſelfe headlong downe vpon his face, drew his hood ouer his head, and weeping, yea and euen roaring out, he ſayd: *Why, O Paul, doſt thou forſake me? Why art thou gone without letting me ſo much as take my leaue? Thou, whome I came to know ſo late, why art thou departed ſo ſoon?* it was afterward related by *Anthony*, that he diſpatched that reſt of the way, with ſo great ſpeed, as that he flew like a very bird. And he had reaſon to make haſt, for being entered into the caue, he ſaw the body without life, his knees doubled vnder him, his necke erected, and his hands extended abroad on high. And conceauing at the firſt that he had been yet aliue, he ioyned with him in prayer; but afterwards, when he heard him not ſend forth any ſuch ſighes, as he was wont to vſe in prayer, he ruſhed vpon him, with a dolefull kiſſe; and then grew to vnderſtand, that euen the dead corps of the Saint, did pray after a ſort, to God (to whome all things liue) by that poſture of reuerence. *Anthony* therefore hauing ſhrouded the body, & brought it forth; and ſinging hymnes and pſalmes, according to the tradition of the Chriſtian Church, was troubled that he had not there ſome ſpade, wherewith he might dig, and make a graue. And wauing between the variety of ſeuerall paſſions, and caſting with his thoughtes many wayes, he ſayd thus

thus within himselfe: *If I returne to the Monastery, it is a iourney of no lesse then three dayes; if I stay heere, I shall loose my tyme & labour; my best way would be euen to dye, and by casting my selfe headlong against this warryer of thyne, O Christ, to deliuer vp my last breath.* Whilst he was reuoluing these things in his mind, behould, from the more inward part of the desart, two Lyons bore themselues with speed towardes him, their manes al wauing about their neckes. At the first, vpon this sight, he was much frighted; yet then instantly casting vp his mind to God, he remayned as void of feare, as if he had but seene some paire of Doues. But the Lyons, hauing directed their course to the corps of that other blessed ould man, made a stand, and fawning with their tailes, they lay downe at his feet, roaring out with a huge noyse, so as a man might plainely vnderstād, that they bewayled the death of *Paul* after the best manner they could. Soone after, they also began to scrape the ground with their pawes, casting out sand (as if it had beene with a kind of strife who should do it fastest) they digged a place, which might be able to containe a man; and then instantly casting downe their necks, and wagging their eares, they went towardes *Anthony*; and as if they had demanded some wages for their paynes, they licked both his handes, and feet. But he vnderstood it, as if they had desired a blessing from him, and therefore instantly inlarging his hart towardes the prayse of Christ, for that euen these dumme Beasts, did also vnderstand that there was a God, he expressed himselfe thus, *O Lord, without whose becke, neither doth any leafe fall from a Tree, nor any Sparrow light vpon the ground, be good to these creatures, as thou knowest.* And so making a signe with his hand, he gaue them a commandement to be gone. As soone as they were departed, he submitted his old shoulders to the waight of that holy corps; and laying it downe in the graue, and then casting earth vpon it, he made a kind of tombe, according to the manner. But then, vpon the next day (least this pious heyre should not become the owner of some of the intestates goods) he tooke the coat, which *Paul* had wouen for himselfe after the manner of Baskets, of Palme leaues. And so returning to his Monastery, he made relation of al to his Disciples,

in order as it had paſſed; and vpon the ſolemnities of Eaſter, & Pentecoſt, he euer vſed to weare the coat of *Paul*.

And now vpon the end of this little worke, I will take the liberty, to aske thoſe men, who haue ſuch ſtore of Lands, as that they hardly know the names therof; they who apparell their houſes in marble, & thread the price of whole Mānours, vpon roapes of pearle; what thing was euer wanting to this halfe naked man? You drinke in cupps made of precious ſtone; this man ſatisfyed Nature, by the vſe of a paire of hollow handes. You imbroder your garments with gold, but he had not ſo much as the meaneſt cloath, which belonged to any drudge of yours. But then, Heauen on the other ſide will be open to that poore man; and you with your guilt, will go downe to Hell. He was ſtill cloathed with Chriſt, though he were naked; you, being clad with ſilke, haue loſt the garment of Chriſt. *Paul* lyes couered vnder poore light duſt, and he ſhall riſe vp againe into glory; wheras you are preſſed downe by thoſe weighty and coſtly Tombes of ſtone, and are to burne in hell fire with your wealth. I beſeech you be good to your ſelues, or els at leaſt, be good to your riches, which you loue ſo well. Why wrappe you vp the bodyes of your dead friendes, in goulden cloathes? Why do you not permit, that Ambition and Pride may ceaſe at leaſt in the mideſt of your ſorrowes and teares? Are not perhaps the Carkaſes of rich men able to rot, vnles they be layd vp in ſilke? I beſeech you, whoſoeuer you be, that read this, be mindfull of *Hierome*, that ſinnefull man; to whome yet, if our Lord ſhould graunt his wiſh, he would much rather chooſe the coat of *Paul* with his merits, then the purple of Kinges with their paynes.

FINIS.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. HILARION

THE HERMITE,

WRITTEN BY S. HIEROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

HILARION was a Monke, borne at Thabatha *a little towne of Paleſtine, a diſciple of that great* Anthony; *with how ſingular abſtinence and ſanctity he lead his life, and with how great Miracles it was continually illuſtrated, euen when he procured to lye moſt concealed* S. Hierome *doth largely and learnedly expreſſe; and ſo, as that a man may cleerely ſee, the true patterne of a perfect Monke in his perſonne.*

THE LIFE.

BEING to write the life of S. *Hilarion*, I inuoke the holy Ghoſt, who inhabited his ſoule; that ſo he, who gaue power to him, may giue ſpeech to me, wherwith to manifeſt the ſame; and ſo my wordes, may grow to equall his deedes. For (as *Criſpus* ſayth) their merites who haue wrought wonders, haue beene held iuſt as great by men, as the more excellent kind of wits haue beene able to magnify them by wordes. *Alexander* the Great, the *Macedonian*

donian (whome *Daniel* calls the *Ramme*, or *Leopard*, or *Goat*,) when he came to *Achilles* his tombe, *Happy* (sayth the young man) *art thou, who enioyest such a mighty publisher of thy merits*; reflecting thereby vpon *Homer*. But as for me, I am to relate the conuersation, and life of a person so great, and so qualifyed, as that *Homer* himselfe, if he were present, would either enuy the excellency of the subiect, or els would sinke vnder the burden. For though S. *Epiphanius* the Bishop of *Salamina* in *Cyprus*, who conuersed much with *Hilarion*, wrote his prayses in a short Epistle, which is vsually read, yet one thing is to prayse a dead man, according to the nature of a common place; and another, to relate the vertues, which were proper to that dead man. Whereupon we also, rather vnder his fauour, then with meaning to shew him any disrespect, will set vpon the worke, which was begun by him; resoluing to contemne the exceptions of ill tongued men, who formerly detracting from the life, which I wrote of *Paul*, will now perhaps doe as much, for this of *Hilarion*; taxing the former of excesse in solitude, and chalenging the later, for exposing himselfe ouermuch to publicke view; that so he, who lay euer hid, might be thought as good, as not to haue beene at all; and this other, who was seene by so many, might be held thereby in lesse high account. Their Predecessors the Pharisies did the selfe same thing heeretofore, when neither the desart, and fasts of *Iohn*, nor the couersation or society, in eating and drinking, which was vsed by our Lord & Sauiour, knew how to please. But I will begin the worke which I haue in hand, and passe by those barking Dogs, with a deafe eare.

Hilarion was borne in a little towne called *Thabatha*, which is situated towardes the South, about fiue miles from *Gaza*, a Citty of Palestine; and he sprung (as men are wont to say) like a Rose out of thornes, for he had Idolaters to his Parēts. He was sent by them to *Alexandria*, and applyed to the study of Grammar; and there (for as much as might be expected from one of his tender yeares,) he gaue great testimony in a short tyme, both of his wit, and good conuersation. He was deere to all them who knew him, and he was a Maister of

speech

ſpeech; and (which paſſes theſe prayſes) he was a belieuer in our Lord Ieſus, and did not delight in thoſe mad ſportes, which were exhibited in the *Circus*, nor in the luxurious entertainements of the Theatre, where ſo great effuſiō of blood was made. His whole comfort was to be at Church, when Chriſtians were aſſembled there. Being then growen to heare the famous name of *Anthony*, which was celebrated through all the parts of Ægypt, he went on towards the deſart, through a deſire he had to ſee him. This he no ſooner did, but inſtantly he changed his former habit, and remayned with him, vpon the point of two Months, contemplating the order of his life, and the grauity of his conuerſation, how frequent he was in prayer, how humble in receauing his brethren, how ſeuere in reprehending them, how cheerefull in exhorting them; and how no corporall indiſpoſition did at any time interrupt the abſtinent & rigid dyet, which he kept. But then *Hilarion* being no longer able to endure the frequēt concourſe of them who reſorted to *Antony*, by occaſion either of being poſſeſſed by Diuels, or of ſeuerall other infirmityes; and not houlding it to be conuenient for him to endure ſuch troupes of inhabitants of Citties, in ſuch a wildernes as that, and conceauing that he was rather to begin as *Anthony* had done; and that *Anthony* was then enioying the fruites of his victory, like an ould ſouldier, but that himſelfe had ſcarce begun to carry armes; he returned with ſome Monkes into his owne countrey. And his Parents, by that tyme being dead, he diſtributed part of his ſubſtance to his Brothers, and part to the poore, reſeruing nothing at all to himſelfe, as fearing both the example, and puniſhment of *Ananias* and *Saphyra* in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and remembring this ſaying of our Lord; *He, who renounces not all that which he poſſeſſes, can be no diſciple of myne*. He was then about fifteene yeares of age, and thus being naked, but yet armed with Chriſt, he entred into that Deſart, which is diſtant ſeauen mile from *Maioma*, the ſtaple of *Gaza*, which lyes vpon the Sea coaſt, on the left hād of them, who go towards Ægypt. And although thoſe places were all ſtained with the bloud of many murthers, and his friendes and kindred did declare the imminent danger to

which

which he expoſed himſelfe; yet he deſpiſed one kind of death, that he might eſcape another. All men wondred at his courage, and they wondred alſo at his tender yeares, ſauing that the flame of his hart, and certaine ſparkes of fayth, did euen ſhine out by his eyes. His face was but thinne, his body was delicate and leane, and ſenſible of any iniury of weather, & of the trouble of any little either heat or could. Hauing therfore all couered himſelfe with ſacke-cloath, and beſides wearing a ſhirt of haire, which the B. *Anthony* had giuen him, togeather with a country Caſſocke at his departure, he betooke himſelfe to a vaſt and terrible kind of wildernes, betweene the Sea ſhore on the one ſide, & certaine fenns on the other, eating only fifteene dryed Figs euery day after Sunne ſet. And becauſe thoſe parts were growen infamous by the multitude of cruell robberies which were cõmitted there abouts, he neuer vſed to ſtay long in the ſelfe ſame place. What had the Diuell now to do? Which way ſhould he turne himſelfe? He who once had vaunted and ſayd: *I will plant my throne vpon the ſtarres of Heauen, and I will be like the moſt High*, perceaued himſelfe now to be ouercome by a child, and to be ſooner troden vpon by him, then he was able in effect, through his tender yeares, to tread at all. The Diuell did therefore then begin to moue the ſence of *Hilarion*, and to ſuggeſt ſuch motiues of luſt, as be vſuale when bodies are budding firſt, in the ſpring of youth. This young ſouldier of Chriſt was euen conſtrayned to thinke vpon obiects, whereof he was ignorant; & to looke with the eye of his phanſy, vpon the whole ſtory of that buſineſſe, wherof he had neuer taken any experience. Vpon this, being angry with himſelfe, and beating his breaſt with his fiſt, (as if he had beene able to deſtroy his thoughts, with his handes: *I will take order* (ſayth he) *thou little Aſſe, that thou ſhalt not kicke, nor will I feed thee with corne, but with ſtraw; I will ſtarue thee, and I will lay heauy load vpon thee, I will exerciſe, and tyre thee out, both by heates and coldes, that ſo thou mayſt haue more care, how to get a bit of meat, then how to ſatisfy thy luſt*. So that whē his very life would be fayling, after the faſt of three or foure dayes, he would ſuſtaine it with the iuyce of herbes, and a few dryed Figs; praying & ſinging often, & he would alſo

alſo be breaking the ground with a rake; that ſo the labour of his working, might ad to the trouble of his faſting. And weauing ſmall twigs together with great ruſhes, he imitated the diſcipline of the *Ægiptian Moncks*, & remembred the ſentenceof the Apoſtle, ſaying: *He, who doth not worke, muſt not eat.* Being thus extenuated, and hauing his body ſo farre exhauſted, as that it would ſcarce hang together, he began one night, to heare the crying of Infants, the bleating of Sheep, the bellowing of Oxen, the lamentation as if it had been of Woemē, the roaring of Lyons, the claſhing noyſe of an Army; and ſuch a confuſion of prodigious ſounds, that being frighted with the noyſe of them; before he perceaued any ſight, his hart began to faynt. But he ſoone found them to be ſcornes & plots of the Diuell; and ſo caſting himſelfe then vpon his knees, he ſigned his forhead with the Croſſe of Chriſt. Being defended with ſuch a helmet as that, and compaſſed in by the coat armour of fayth, he fought more valiantly, as he was layd downe, then before; already then deſiring to ſee them, whom formerly he had euen trembled to heare; and looking for thē round about, with earneſt eyes. When behould, vpon the ſodayne, he perceaued by the ſhining of the Moone, that a charriot drawen by burning horſes came ruſhing on towards him, and as ſoon as he had called vpon Ieſus, all that buſineſſe was ſwallowed vp before his eyes, by a ſudden gaping of the earth. Vpon this, he ſayd; *He hath caſt the horſe and the horſeman into the ſea; and ſome truſt in their chariots, and ſome in their horſes, but we will be magnifyed in the name of the Lord our God.* Many were his temptations, and many ſnares were ſet by the Diuels for him, day & night; all which if I would vndertake to relate, I ſhould exceed the meaſure of one volume. How often would naked Woemen appeare to him, as he was reſting? How often would moſt ſumptuous dyet be ſet before him, when he was faſting? Sometimes the yelling wolfe, and the grinning fox, would be leaping ouer him, when he was praying; and when he was ſinging, ſome fight of *Gladiators*, would preſent it ſelfe; and one, as if he had bene killed, did once fall downe before his feet, deſiring buriall at his hands. He was praying, with his head bowed

 downe

downe to the ground, and his mind being once diſtracted (according to humane fraylty) he had I know not what other thought; when inſtantly a nimble rider, got vpon his backe, beating his ſides with his heeles, and his necke with his whippe, and ſayd; *why ſleepeſt thou?* & ſcornfully laughing at him as he ſat, did aske him, when he was faynting, whether he would eat any prouender, or no?

Now from the ſixteenth years of his age, til the twentyth, he declyned the heates, and raynes, in a poore ſhort little Houel, which he had woeuen of reeds, and boughes. Afterwards he built a little poore Cell for himſelfe, which is extant to this day. It had but the breadth of foure foot, and the height of fiue; ſo that it was lower then he; in length it was a little longer then the extent of his body; ſo that you would rather haue eſteemed it to be a graue, then a houſe. He cut his haire once euery yeare, and it was at *Eaſter*. He lay perpetually till his death, vpon the bare ground, with a matte. He neuer waſhed that ſacke-cloath, which he had ōce put on; affirming *that it was idle, to looke for neatnes in hair-cloathes*; nor did he euer change any coat, till it were vtterly worne out. The holy ſcriptures, he had without booke; and after his prayers, and the pſalmes, he would recite them, as in the preſence of God. And becauſe it would be a long buſineſſe to diſcouer, ſtep by ſtep, how he roſe vp towards perfection in the ſeuerall ages of his life, I will briefly firſt comprehend the hiſtory thereof in groſſe, and ſo lay it before the eyes of the Reader; and then I will in order, deliuer a more particular Relation.

Between the one and twentyth, & the ſeauen & twentyth yeare of his age, he daily tooke for three yeares, a little more then half a pint of pulſe, ſteeped in cold water; and during the other three, he tooke dry bread with water, and ſalt. From the ſeauen & twentyth, to the thirtyth, he was ſuſtayned by wild herbes, and by the rootes of certaine plantes taken rawe. From the one & thirtyth to the fiue & thirtyth, he tooke for his dayly food, ſix ounces of barly bread, and ſome kitchin herbes, but halfe boyled, and without oyle. But obſeruing that his eyes began already to dazle, and that his whole

whole body grew to haue a kind of itch vpon it, and to be ſubiect to an vnnaturall kind of roughnes; he added oyle to his former dyet; and till the ſixtyth yeare of his age he ranne on in this degree of abſtinence, not once ſo much as taſting, either pulſe, or fruit or any other thing: At laſt, when he found his body to be euen all ouerwrought, and conceiued that his death was very neer at hand; from the ſixty fourth, till the eightyth yeare of his age, he abſtayned euen from bread alſo with incredible feruour of mind; proceeding as if he were but then newly entring into the ſeruice of God; whereas others at that time, are wont to be more remiſſe in their manner of life. But hauing foureſcore years of age there were made for him, certaine little poore broths of flower and herbs, which were broken or cut; the whole proportion both of meat, and drinke, ſcarce arriuing to the waight of foure ounces; & thus he wēt through the whole order of his life; & neuer broke his faſt till Sun ſet, though it were vpon the higheſt feaſts, or in his greateſt ſicknes. But now it is time that I returne to ſpeake particularly of thinges in order.

When he was yet dwelling in his houel, hauing eighteen yeares of age, there came vpon him, certaine murthering theeues, either as thinking, that he had ſomewhat, which was worth the carrying away; or els, as houlding that it amounted to be a kind of contempt of them, that a ſolitary youth ſhould preſume not to be affrayd of theyr force. So as, ſcouring that quarter, between the ſea and the Fens, from the euening to Sūne riſing, & neuer being able to meet with his lodging; but once hauing found him in broad day light, *what wouldeſt thou do* (ſayd they) *if now the murthering theeues ſhould come?* To whom he anſwered. *That the naked man feares no theeues.* Whereupon they ſayd, *yet there is no doubt but thou mayeſt be killed. I may* (ſaith he) *and therefore do I feare no murthering theeues, becauſe I am ready to dy.* But they, admiring his conſtancy, and ſtrong faith, & confeſſing how they had been wandring by night; and that theyr eyes had been blinded from finding him, did make him a promiſe to lead a better life from that tyme forward.

By this time, he had been two and twenty yeares in that

that desart, and was generally knowne by fame, and publiſhed ouer all the cittyes of *Palestine*; when in the meane while a certaine woman of *Eleutheropolis*, who perceaued her ſelfe to be neglected by her husband by reaſon of her barrennes (for already ſhe had paſſed fifteene yeares without yeelding any fruit of mariage) was the firſt, who preſumed to breake in, vpon the Bleſſed *Hilarion*. And he ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, ſhe caſt her ſelfe ſodainly downe at his knees, and ſayd: *Pardon this bouldnes, pardon this neceſsity of myne. VVhy doe you turne away your eyes? VVhy fly you from your ſuiter? Looke not on me as a woman, but as a miſerable creature. Yet, this ſexe brought forth the Sauiour of the world: not the whole, but the ſicke, need the Phyſitian.* At length he ſtayed, and looking after ſo long time vpon her, he demanded the reaſon, both of her comming & of her weeping, which as ſoone as he had vnderſtood, he caſt vp his eyes to heauen, bidding her haue fayth; and following her with teares, he ſaw her with a ſonne at the yeares end. This firſt miracle of his, was illuſtrated by another, & greater.

Ariſtane (the wife of *Elpidius* who afterward was Captaine of the Guarde) a woman of great nobility in her Country, and yet more noble among Chriſtians, returning from Bleſſed *Anthony* with her husband and three children, made ſtay at *Gaza*, by reaſon of her ſicknes. For there, whether it were by corruption of the ayre, or as it appeared afterward, for the glory of *Hilarion* the ſeruant of God, they were ſurpriſed all togeather, with a dangerous double Tertian, and the Phyſitians deſpayred of them all. The mother lay lamēting loudly, and ſtill was running to and fro betweene her three children, as if already, they had beene three coarſes; not knowing which of them ſhe was to bewaile firſt. But vnderſtanding that there was a certaine Moncke in the wildernes neere at hand, ſhe forgot the trayne fit for a Matrone, and only knew her ſelfe to be a Mother, and went attended but by her maydes and Eunuches, and would ſcarce be perſuaded by her husband, to eaſe her ſelfe by ryding thither vpon a poore little Aſſe. When ſhe arriued with him, ſhe ſayd; *I beſeech you for the loue of Ieſus, our moſt mercifull God, and by his*

Croſſe,

Croße, and bloud, that you will reſtore me my three ſonnes; and that the name of our Lord, and Sauiour may be glorifyed in this Citty of the Gentils. But he refuſing, and ſaying that he would neuer go out of his cell, and being wont not only not to paſſe into any Citty, but not ſo much as into any little houſe, ſhe caſt her ſelfe proſtrate vpon the ground, crying often after this manner: *Hilarion thou ſeruant of Chriſt, reſtore me my children, let them, who were cherished by* Anthony *in Ægypt, be preſerued in Syria by thee.* All they who were preſent wept, yea and euen he wept who denyed her ſuite. Why ſhould I vſe many wordes? The woman would not away, till firſt he had promiſed her, that he would go to *Gaza* after Sunne ſet. As ſoone as he came thither, and had conſidered how they lay, & ſeen the dryed limmes of all the ſicke, he inuoked Ieſus. And (o admirable power) the ſweate broke out from them all, as if it had beene out of three fountaines. At the ſame tyme they tooke meat, and recouering the knowledge of their ſad Mother, and bleſſing God, they kiſſed the handes of the Saint. When this was knowne, and had beene ſpread farre & wide, men came crowding in vpon him, both out of *Syria* & *Ægypt*, ſo that many by occaſion thereof, grew to belieue in Chriſt, and profeſſed that they would be Monckes, for as yet there were no Monaſteries in *Paleſtine*; neither did men know of any Moncks in *Syria*, before *S. Hilarion*: he was the founder, he the inſtructer of men in this kind of life, and Inſtitute in this Prouince. Our Lord Ieſus had the old *Anthony* in *Ægypt* and *Hilarion* a younger man in *Paleſtine*.

Facidia is a little towne of *Rinocorura* a Citty of *Ægypt*, and ſome ten yeares ſince, a blind woman was brought from thence to the Bleſſed *Hilarion*, and being preſented to him, by ſome of his brethren (for by that tyme he had there many Moncks) ſhe related how ſhe had ſpent her whole fortune vpon Phyſitians. To whome he ſpake thus: *If you had giuen that to the poore, which you haue caſt away vpon Phyſitians, Ieſus, the true Phiſition would haue cured you.* But ſhe crying out, and begging mercy, he ſpit into her eyes, and inſtantly according to the exãple of our Sauiour, the like miracle was wrought.

Moreouer a certaine Carter of *Gaza*, being poſſeſſed by a

Diuell, as he was in his Carte, grew all ſo ſtiffe, as that he could neither ſtirre a hand, nor turne his head. Being therefore brought in his bed, and being only able to moue his tongue for help; he was tould, that he could not be cured, till he would belieue in Ieſus, and renounce his old courſes. He belieued, he promiſed, he was cured, and did more exult for the recouery of the health of his ſoule, then of his body.

There was beſides, a mighty ſtrong young man called *Marſitas*, of the territory of Hieruſalem, who did ſo glory in his corporall force, as that he would carry about ſeauen buſhells of corne a great way, and a long tyme, and he vaunted himſelfe to exceed euen big Aſſes in ſtrength. This man was afflicted by a moſt wicked Diuell, nor did he permit, that chaines, or fetters, or euen the barres of doores, ſhould remaine whole. He had bitten off the noſes, and eares of many, he had broken the feet of ſome, and the neckes of others; and had ſtrocken all men with ſuch terrour, that being loaden with chaines, and roapes, he was drawne like ſome fierce Bull, towardes the Monaſtery, by men who kept him in fit diſtance, by ſtrayning ſeuerall way. When the Brothers of the Monaſtery ſaw him, they being all in a fright (for the man was of a wonderful huge bulke) made it known to their Father. Now he, as he was ſitting, required that the man ſhould be brought before him, and let looſe; which being done, he ſayd: *Bow downe thy head, and come hither*. He trembled, and turned his necke, nor preſumed he to looke him in the face, but laying downe all his fiercenes, he began to licke the feet of *Hilariõ* as he was ſitting. And ſo the Diuel, who had poſſeſſed the young man, being adiured and tormented, departed out of his body, on the ſeaueńth day.

Neither is it to be concealed, how *Orionus*, a principall & very rich man of the Citty of *Aila*, which lyes cloſe vpon the red ſea, was poſſeſſed by a legion of Diuels, and brought to *Hilariõ*. His hands, his necke, his waſt, his feet, were al loadẽ with yron; and his fierce gloomy eyes, did threaten men with extreme cruelty. Now when the Saint was walking with thoſe Brothers, and was declaring ſomewhat to them of holy ſcriptures, the poſſeſſed man broke forth of theyr handes,

handes, who had held him; and clasping-in the Saint behind his backe, and lifting him vp on high, they all cryed out who were present; for they feared, least he should euen breake that body in peeces, which was so defeated otherwise with fasting. But the Saint smiling, sayd; *Neuer trouble your selues, but let me alone with my wrastler.* And so casting backe his hand ouer the others shoulder, he touched his head, and laying hould vpon his haire, he brought the man before him, and held fast both his hands; and treading with his feet vpon the feet of the possest person, he often repeated these wordes: *Be tormented, o you troupe of Diuells, be tormented.* And when the party roaring out, and wreathing backe his necke, did euen touch the ground with the crowne of his head. *Hilariō* sayd: *O Lord Iesus, free this captiue, free this miserable creature; it is in thy power, as easily to conquere many, as one.* I shall tell you a strange thing. There were heard diuers voices, yea the confused clamour of whole people, proceeding out of the mouth of that one man at once. This man being cured, came also, not long after, with his wife and children to the Monastery, bringing many presents with him in the way of gratitude. Of whome the Saint asked this question: *Haue you not read, what* Giesi, *and what* Simon Magus *suffered, whereof the one tooke a reward that he might sell, and the other offered one, that he might buy the guift of the holy Ghost?* And when *Orionus* had sayd with teares, *Receaue my present, and do you bestow it vpon the poore.* He answered: *Your selfe can best tell, how to distribute your owne goodes, you who walke vp and downe the world, & know the persons of poore people; but I, who haue giuen away, that which is myne owne, why should I meddle with that of others? The name of distributing to the poore giues occasion of coueteousnes to many; but true mercy hath no trickes. No man bestoweth goodes better then he, who reserues nothing to himselfe.* But the party being still in griefe, and lying vpon the ground, *Hilarion* sayd: *Be not afflicted, o my sonne, at this which I do, both for my good and for thyne owne; for if I take thy present, both I shall offend God, and the legion of Diuells, will returne to thee.*

But who can passe ouer in silence, how one of *Maioma*, the Staple of *Gaza*, who squared stones for building, vpon the

the Sea coſt, not farre from his Monaſtery, being all defeated by a Palſy, and brought by his fellow-labourers to the Saint, did inſtantly returne againe to his worke. For that coaſt, which ſpreades is ſelfe both before Paleſtine and Ægypt, being ſoft by nature, becomes rough, by reaſon that the ſand growes by degrees into the nature of ſtone; and ſo grauell ſticking to it by little and little, it becomes other to the hand, though it become not other to the eye. There was alſo another called *Italicus*, a free man of the ſame towne, & a Chriſtian, who kept horſes for the *Circus*, which vſed to runne againſt other horſes of an Officer of *Gaza* who was a worſhipper of the Idoll *Marnas*. For it hath beene maintained in the Citties ſubiect to the Roman Empire, euer ſince *Romulus* his tyme, that in memory of that fortunate rape of the *Sabines*, & in honour of *Conſus* the God of Counſaile, certaine charriots ſhould runne ſeauen tymes round about the place, and the victory ſhould be his, whoſe horſes could outſtrip and ouercome the reſt. This *Italicus* therefore, finding that his concurrent vſed the help of a Witch, who by the meanes of certaine diabolicall imprecations, did giue impediment to his horſes, and add ſpeed to his owne, came to the Bleſſed *Hilarion* & begged of him, not ſo much that his aduerſary might be diſaduantaged, as that himſelfe might be aſſiſted. It ſeemed an improper thing to the venerable old man, to imploy his prayers vpon ſuch toyes. And when he ſmiled, and ſayd: *Why rather do you not beſtow the price of your horſes, vpon the poore, for the ſaluation of your ſoule?* He anſwered, That the profeſſion, which he followed, was allowed, and that the thing which he then deſired, was rather vpon conſtraint, then choice; That a Chriſtian man might not indeed haue recourſe to Magick-Arts, but rather deſire help from a ſeruãt of Chriſt, eſpecially againſt them of *Gaza*, who were the aduerſaries of God, and inſulted, not ſo much ouer him, as ouer the Church of Chriſt. The Saint being therefore entreated by the Monckes, who were preſent, required that a cup of earth, wherein he vſed to drinke, ſhould be filled with water, and deliuered to *Italicus*, which as ſoone as he had receaued, he ſprinkled the ſtable with that water, and the horſes,

and

and their riders, and the charriot, & the bars of the race. The people was in a wonderfull expectation of the euent: for the aduersaries of *Italicus* had publiſhed all this buſineſſe with ſcorne; and his fauourers did exult out of the certaine promiſe of victory, which they made to themſelues. But the ſigne being giuen, the horſes of *Italicus* fly away, and thoſe others were able to make no haſt; the wheeles of *Italicus* charriots grew hot with ſpeed, but thoſe others were ſcarce able to keep ſight of the former. There was an exceſſiue noiſe made by the people, in ſo much as that euen the Pagans themſelues cryed out, that, *Marnas was ouercome by Chriſt*. But then the aduerſaries being mad with rage, made inſtance that *Hilarion* might haue had his proces framed, as being a Witch in fauour of Chriſtians. But in the meane tyme, that vndoubted victory, both in thoſe preſent ſports of the *Circus*, and in many others afterward, was the occaſion that very many were conuerted to the Fayth of Chriſt.

There was a Virgin conſecrated to God, belonging to the ſame ſtaple towne of *Gaza*, to whome a young man dwelling neere her did make loue. Not preuailing in his enterpriſe, though he had beene frequent in touching, in ieſting, in making ſignes, and whiſling, with the like, (which are wont to be a kind of preface, to the deſtruction of virginity) he made a iourney to *Memphis*, that vpon manifeſtation of the wound, which he had receaued, he might by meanes of Magicke arts, returne ſtrong enough to ſubdue the Virgin. So that after a yeare, being inſtructed how to proceed by the Prieſts of *Æſculapius*, who was not wont to cure, but to deſtroy mens ſoules, he came with a mind full of preſumption, that he ſhould preuaile in his wickednes, and he cauſed certaine coniuring wordes, and prodigious figures, to be grauen in a plate of *Cyprian* braſſe, & to be conueyed by digging, vnder the threſhold of the virgins houſe. Inſtantly vpon this ſhe began euen to runne mad with loue, and caſting away the dreſſing of her head, ſhe fell to ſhake and toſſe her haire, to gnaſh with her teeth, and to cry out after the name of the young man. For the exceſſe of loue, had exalted it ſelfe euen into a meere rage. She therfore, being brought by her Parents to the Monaſtery,

was deliuered to the old man; the Diuel beginning to howle and confeſſing himſelfe in this manner: *I was remoued by force; I was brought from thence against my will; with what eaſe did I delude men with dreames, when I was at* Memphis! *o the torments that I endure! Thou compellest me to go forth; but I am tyed faſt vnder the threshold. I departe not therefore, vnles the young man diſmiſſe me, who detaines me.* To this, our old man ſayd: *Doubtleſſe thy ſtrength is great, who art held ſo faſt by a little thread, and a plate of braſſe. Declare how thou couldest preſume to poſſeſſe the virgin of God. That I might keep her* (ſayd he) *a virgin. Thou keep her ſo, o thou traytor of chaſtity? VVhy didest thou not rather enter into him who ſent thee? To what end* (ſayd the Diuell) *should I enter into him, who already was poſſeſſed by a colleague of myne, the Diuell of loue?* But the Saint reſolued not to require, that either the young man, or thoſe ſignes of Witchcraft ſhould be produced, till firſt the virgin were free, leaſt either the Diuell might ſeeme to haue departed vpon any other vſuall inchantments, or els leaſt he ſhould be thought to haue giuen credit to the Diuels ſpeach. And vpon this occaſion he tould them, how crafty and deceitfull theſe Diuells are in their deuiſes. But he rather reſolued, as ſoone as the Virgin was reſtored to health, to reproue her for doing theſe other thinges, whereby the Diuell entred to take poſſeſſion of her.

His fame grew not only ouer *Paleſtine*, and in the neighbouring Cittyes of *Ægypt* and *Syria*, but throughout other Prouinces moſt remote. For a neere ſeruant of the Emperour *Conſtantius*, ſhewing well of what country he was by the whitenes of his kinne and the brightnes of his haire (whoſe nation lying betweene the *Saxons* and the *Allmans*, was not ſo largely ſpread as ſtout, and among hiſtorians hath been called *Germany*, but now enioies the name of *Franconia*) was poſſeſſed anciently, that is to ſay, from his very infancy by a Diuell, who conſtrained him mightly to roare out, to fetch deep groanes, and to gnaſh with his teeth. This man did ſecretly deſire comodity of paſſage from the Emperour, but declaring ingenuouſly the true cauſe to him. He carryed alſo letters of fauour to the perſons, who had Cõſular authority in *Paleſtine*, and ſo he was conducted to *Gaza* with mighty honour, and atten-

attendance. And demanding of the Officers of that place, where *Hilarion* the Moncke remayned; they of *Gaza* being frighted, & withall conceauing, that he was ſent by the Emperour, thought good to attend him to the Monaſtery, both that they might exhibite due honour to the perſon recommēded, as alſo, that if there ſhould be any memory of former wronges done to *Hilarion*, it might be defaced by this new act of obſeruance. The old man was then walking in the deep ſand, and was ſoftly repeating ſomewhat to himſelfe of the Pſalmes; but ſeeing ſuch a troupe approaching, he ſtayed him ſelfe; and reſaluting all the company, & giuing them a benediction with his hand, he required the reſt to depart from thence within an houre; but that the party indiſpoſed, with his ſeruants and officers ſhould remaine there; for he knew by his eyes and countenance, why he was come thither. The man therefore who was poſſeſsed being in ſuſpenſe vpon the queſtion, which was asked him, & ſcarce touching the groūd with his feet, and roaring after a moſt hideous manner, made his anſwere in the *Syrian* langu ge, wherein *Hilarion* ſpoke. And there you might haue ſeene the mouth of a Barbarian, which was only acquainted with the *Franconian* and *Latin* tongue, ſpeake ſo perfect *Syrian*, as that neither the hiſſing part, nor the aſpiration, nor any *Ideome* of the ſpeach of *Paleſtine* was wanting to him. He confeſſed therefore, after what ſorte he had entred into that body. And to the end that his Interpreters might alſo know what paſſed (who vnderſtood no other tongues but *Greeke* and *Latin*) *Hilarion* asked him ſome queſtions in *Greeke*. Who anſwering him alſo in the ſame lāguage, and diſcourſing about many occaſions of inchantmēts, and the great force of Magicke artes: *I care not* (ſayth Hilarion) *how thou entredſt in; but I commaund thee, in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that thou go out*. And when the party was cured, & was preſenting him with ten pound weight in gould, he on the other ſide was cōtent to accept a barly loafe, which the old man offered him, with a plaine country kind of ſimplicity, and he was made to vnderſtand thereby; that they, who liue vpon ſuch food as that, value gold no more then durt.

But it is no great matter to tell of ſtrange thinges concerning men; for brut beaſtes were daily brought to him ſtarcke mad, among which there was a Bactrean Camell of hideous bignes, who had euen ground many men to death, like duſt; and there were aboue thirty perſons, who brought him thither at that tyme, with great noiſe, and all fettered with extreame ſtrōg ropes. His eyes looked red like blood, his mouth foamed, his rowling tongue ſwelled; but the noiſe of his hideous roaring went beyond al the other terrour that he ſtrok. The old man therefore, commaunded him to be let looſe; & inſtantly, both they who brought him, and they who were with the old man, did euery one of them fly away. Only he went on alone to meet him, and ſayd thus in the *Syrian* language: *Thou doſt not fright me, o Diuell, by that ſo great bulke of thy body; for whether thou be in the little Foxe, or in the large Camell, thou art ſtill the ſame.* In the meane tyme, he ſtood ſtill with one of his handes extended forth. And as ſoone as the Beaſt was coming, all furious towards him, he ſuddenly fell down and layd his head low and leuell with the ground; all they, who were preſent, being in a wonder, that ſo great benignity could ſo inſtantly follow vpon ſo great fury. But the old man taught them, how the Diuell is wont to enter into Cattell, for their ſakes who are the owners; and that he hates men ſo highly, that he deſires not only the deſtruction of themſelues, but of whatſoeuer is theirs. Of this he propounded an example, how the Diuell before he was permitted to tempt the B. *Iob*, killed all the goodes he had. And how it ought not to make any man wonder, that vpon the commandement of our Lord, two thouſand ſwine were caſt away by Diuels; for that was done, becauſe they who ſaw it, would neuer haue belieued that ſo great a multitude of Diuels was departed out of one man, vnleſſe a mighty heard of ſwyne had periſhed altogeather; and ſo, as if it had beene driuen by a multitude of Diuells.

The tyme will fayle me, if I ſhall pretend to ſpeake of all the wonderful thinges which were wrought by *Hilarion*. For he was rayſed by our Lord to ſo great glory. as that the Bleſſed *Anthony* vnderſtanding of his manner of life, did willingly write

write to him, & receaue letters from him. And if at any time there came ſicke perſons towardes *Anthony* out of *Syria*, he would ſay thus to them: *VVhy would you needs vexe your ſelues by vndertaking ſo long a iourney, when you haue my ſonne Hilarion at hand?* By his example therefore, there grew to be innumerable Monaſteryes ouer all *Paleſtine*; & all thoſe Monkes would come flocking towordes him with a kind of ſtrife. When he ſaw this, he prayſed our Lord for his grace, and exhorted euery one of them to profit in the way of ſpirit, ſaying: *That the figure of the world paſſeth, and that the other future life is the true life, which is obtayned by ſuffering incommodities in this preſent life.*

Being deſirous to ſhew them an example both of humility, and curteſy, he vſed vpon certaine dayes, before the tymes of vintage, to viſite the Cels of the Monckes. As ſoone as this was knowne by thoſe Brothers, they all flocked to him, and being accompanied by ſuch a guide as that, they went in circuit to the Monaſteries, carrying their prouiſiō with them; for ſometymes they would arriue to the number of two thouſand perſons. But in proceſſe of tyme, euery little Towne growing glad of the intertainement which was to be giuen to the Saint, would bring in ſome of their commodityes, to their next neighbouring Monckes. Now how great care he had, not to paſſe ouer any one brother vnuiſited how meane ſoeuer or poore he were, this one thing may ſerue to demonſtrate, that he went into the deſart of *Cades*, to viſit one ſingle diſciple of his with a huge troupe of Monckes. He came then to *Eluſa*, and it was by accident, vpon that day, when by reaſon of an Anniuerſary ſolemnity, the whole people of the Towne was aſſembled in the Temple of *Venus*; for they worſhip her as *Lucifer*, to whoſe veneration the Nation of the *Saracens* is addicted. Moreouer the Towne it ſelfe, for the moſt part is halfe barbarous, by reaſon of the ſituation of the place. They hauing therefore vnderſtood, that S. *Hilarion* paſſed by that way (for he had often cured many of the *Saracens*, who had beene poſſeſſed by the Diuell) they came forth to meet him, by whole troupes, with their wiues and children, bowing downe their heades, and crying out to him in that *Syrian* word, *Barac*, that is, *Giue vs thy bleſsing*. Theſe men did he receaue

ceaue with all humility and benignity, and beſought them to worſhip God rather then ſtockes and ſtones; and withall he would abundantly weep, looking vp to heauen, and promiſing them, that if they would beleeue in Chriſt, he would come often to them. And a wonderfull grace of our Lord it was, that they ſuffered him not to depart, til he ſhould make a deſigne, and draw the firſt lines of that Church, which futurely was to be built in that place; and till their Prieſt, as he was then already crowned for the offering of ſome idolatrous Sacrifice, might be marked with the ſigne of Chriſt.

In another yeare alſo, when he was going forth to viſite the Monaſteries, and did ſet downe in a liſt by whome he would only paſſe, and with which others he would ſtay, the Monckes obſeruing, that one of the company was ſomewhat neer and ſparing, and being deſirous to cure that fault of his, they wiſhed the Saint to ſtay ſome tyme with him. But why, ſayth *Hilarion*, will you wrong your ſelues, and vexe him? Which as ſoone as that ſparing Brother vnderſtood, he was out of countenance, and they all drawing one way, had yet much a do to obtaine of him who was vnwilling, that his Monaſtery might be in the nũber of them, where the Saint ſhould lodge. Yet at length after ten dayes, they went to him; but in the meãne tyme certaine Guards or Keepers were placed by him in the vinyard, where the Moncks were to paſſe, & frighting ſuch as came towardes them, by throwing ſtones and clods of earth, and by vſing alſo the ſling, all thoſe gueſts departed the next day, without eating ſo much as one grape; the old man laughing at it, but yet not taking knowledge of what had paſſed.

But being receaued by another Moncke, called *Subas* (for it is fit that we name this liberall-hearted man as we concealed that other, who was a miſer) they were all inuited by him into his vinyard, to the end that by eating grapes before dinner (for it was on Sunday) they might be refreſhed from their labour. The Saint then ſayd: *Curſed be he who preferres the refection of his body before that of his ſoule: let vs pray, let vs ſing, let vs performe our duty to God; and then you may make haſt to the vinyard.* Hauing performed this Office, and being aſcended vp to a higher

higher place, he bleſſed the vinyard, and ſo gaue his ſheep leaue to feed vpon it. Now they were not fewer then three thouſand eaters. And whereas the vinyard when it was yet vntouched, was eſteemed likely to bring forth, but a hundred veſſells of Wine, within twenty dayes after the owner made three hundred. And that other ſparing Brother, making leſſe wine then he was wont, did lament too late, that euen what he had, was turned into veriuyce; which the old man had foretould to many of the Brethren. He did in particular mãner deteſt thoſe Monckes, who through a kind of infidelity, did hord vp any thing for the future, and did vſe either diligence, or coſt about their cloathing; or any other of theſe thinges, which were tranſitory. And obſeruing that one of the Brothers, who dwelt almoſt fiue miles from him, was too carefull and curious in keeping his garden, and withall had layd vp a little money, he droue him out of his ſight. And the party deſiring to be reconciled, came to ſome of the Brothers, and particularly to *Heſychius*, in whome the old man tooke very much contentment. When therefore vpon a certaine day, the ſame party had brought a bundell of greene peaſe, as they were in the cod, and *Heſychius* had ſerued it that euening vpõ the table, the old man cryed out and ſayd: *That he was not able to endure the ſtincke thereof; and withall demanded whence it came?* *Heſychius* anſwering that a certaine Brother had preſented it, as the firſt fruites of his field: *Doſt thou not feele* (ſayth he) *a moſt abominable ill ſauour, and that couetouſnes ſtinkes in the very peaſe; caſt them out to the Oxen, and ſuch brute beaſtes as thoſe, and ſee if they will eate thereof?* Now he hauing layd them in the manger (as he was bidden) the Oxen fell into a fright, and lowing after an extraordinary manner, brake their teathers, and ran euery one by a ſeuerall way. For the old man had this guift, that by the ſmell of bodyes, or garments, or other thinges which any man had touched, he would know to what vice, or Diuell he was ſubiect.

But in the threeſcore and third yeare of his age, obſeruing how great the Monaſtery was then growne to be, as alſo the multitude of the Brothers who liued with him, & the troups of other men who brought ſuch perſons thither, as were taken

taken by ſeuerall diſeaſes, and poſſeſſed by vncleane ſpirits, in ſuch ſort as that the wildernes was ſtuffed round about him with all kind of people; he daily wept, and remembred his former kind of life, with an incredible deſire to recontinue it. And being demaunded by thoſe Brothers what he ayled, and why he afflicted himſelfe, he ſayd: *I am returned againe to the world, and haue receaued my reward in this life. Behould the men of Paleſtine, and the neighbour Prouinces, eſteeme me to be ſome body; and vnder the pretext of gouerning a Monaſtery for the vſe and conueniency of the brothers, I find my ſelfe poſſeſſed of ſome poore little ſtuffe of my own.* This was kept by the Brothers, and eſpecially by *Heſychius*, who with an admirable kind of loue, was addicted to the veneration of the old man. But when he had lamented in this ſort, for the ſpace of two yeares, that ſame *Ariſtane* (of whom we ſpake before) being the wife of the Captaine of the Guard, but hauing no part of his aſpiring condition, came to *Hilarion* with intention alſo afterwards to go on towards *Anthony*. To her he ſayd weeping: *And I alſo would be glad to go, if I were not kept priſonner in this Monaſtery, & if indeed it were to any purpoſe; now it is two dayes, ſince the whole world is depriued of ſuch a Father.* Shee believed it, and forbore her iourney: & within few dayes after, a meſſenger came, by whome ſhe heard the newes, that *Anthony* was dead.

Let others wonder at the Miracles, which *Hilarion* wrought, let them wonder at his incredible abſtinence, his knowledge, and his pouerty. For my part I am not ſo much amazed at any thing in him, as that he could ſo tread honour and glory vnder his feet. There came to him Biſhops, Prieſts, whole flockes of Religious perſons, and Moncks, and Matrones alſo, which is a great temptation; and from all ſides, both out of the Citties, and Fieldes, there came multitudes of common people, yea and Iudges alſo, and great perſons, that they might be able to get ſome bread or oyle, which had beene bleſſed by him. But he on the other ſide, had his mind fixed vpon nothing but ſome wildernes: ſo that one day, he reſolued to be gone, and hauing procured a little Aſſe (for he was then ſo conſumed with faſting, that he was ſcarce able to go) he meant to vndertake his iourney with all ſpeed.

Now

Now as ſoone as this was knowne, it wrought vpon the world there about, as if ſome deſolation had been at hand, & as if the Courts of Iuſtice were to haue been ſhut vp in *Paleſtine* for ſome extreme calamity which had happened. And there grew to be aſſembled, aboue ten thouſand perſons, of both ſexes, and ſeuerall ages, for the ſtaying of him. Whereas he inflexible to their prayers, and ſcattering the ſand with the end of his ſtaffe ſayd thus to them: *I will not make my Lord a lyer, nor can I endure to ſee Churches ouerturned, nor the Altars of Chriſt troden vpon, nor the blood of my children ſpilt.* All they who were preſent, vnderſtood that ſome ſecret had beene reuealed to him, which he would not confeſſe; but yet howſeuer, they watched him, that he might not get away. He therefore reſolued, and he tooke them all to witneſſe, that he would not taſt either meat or drinke, till he were diſmiſſed; & ſo after ſeauen days of his rigorous faſting, he was at length releaſed. And bidding very many of them farewell, there came yet to *Betilium*, a huge troupe of followers; but yet perſwading thoſe multitudes, to returne, he choſe out forty Monckes, who might make and take prouiſion, and were able to goe faſting, that is to ſay, not to eat till Sunſet. The fifth day therefore he came to *Peluſium*, and hauing viſited thoſe brothers, who were in the *deſart* neer at hand, and who remayned in that place which is called *Lychnos*, he went forward after three dayes, to the fort of the *Theubatians*, to viſit *Dracontius* the Biſhop and Confeſſor, who liued there in baniſhment. The Biſhop being incredibly comforted by the preſence of ſo great a perſon, after three dayes more, & with much a do, our old man went to *Babylon*, that he might viſit *Philo* the Biſhop, who was alſo a Confeſſor. For *Conſtantius* the King, who fauoured the hereſy of the *Arrians*, had ſent them both out of the way into thoſe ſeuerall places. But *Hilarion* going from thence, after three other dayes, came to the towne called *Aphroditos*, where meeting with *Bayſanes* the Deacon, (who by reaſon of the vſuall great want of water in that deſart was wont to hire out Camels and dromedaries, to ſuch as went to viſit *Anthony*, and ſo conduct them to him) he confeſſed to thoſe Brothers, that the Anniuerſary of *Anthonyes* death

death was at hand, & that he was then to celebrate the same to him by watching all that night, in that very place where he dyed. After three dayes therefore of trauaile, through that vast and horrible desart, at length they came to a huge high mountaine, where they found two Monckes, *Isaac* and *Pelusianus*; which *Isaac* had beene *Anthonyes* interpreter. And because occasion is heere so fairely offered, and that already we are vpon the place, I will in few wordes describe the habitation of so great a person, as *Anthony* was.

There is a high and stony mountaine, of a mile in circuit, which hath aboundance of springing water at the roote therof. The sand drinketh vp part, and the rest sliding downeward grows by little and little to make a brooke; vpon the banks wherof, on both sides, the innumerable Palme-trees, which grow there, giue both great cõmodity & beauty to the place. There you might haue seene our old man passe nimbly vp & downe with the disciples of Blessed *Anthony*; heere they sayd he sung; heere he prayed; heere he wrought; heere when he was weary he vsed to rest. These vines, and these little trees did he plant himselfe: this little bed of earth did he compose with his owne hands: this poole did he contriue with much labour, for the watering of his garden: with this Rake, did he vse to breake vp the earth many yeares. He lay in the lodging of *Anthony*, and kissed that place of his repose, which as a man may say, was yet warme; his Cell was of no larger measure, then such a square wherein a sleeping man might extend himselfe. Besides this, in the very highest top of the mountaine, which was very steep, and could not be ascended but by circling, there were two other Cells of the same proportion, wherein he would stay somerymes, when he had a mind to fly from the frequent recourse of comers, and the cõuersation of his Disciples. Now these two were hewen out of free stone, and had no addition but of doores. But when they were come to his garden; do you see sayd *Isaac*, that part thereof, which is the orchard, set with young trees, and so greene with herbes? Almost three yeares since, when a heard of wild Asses came to destroy it, he willed one of the leading Asses to stay, and beating the sides of it with his staffe: *How*

chaunceth

chaunceth (ſayth he) *that you eat of that which you did not ſow?* And from thence forth, when they had druncke their water, for which they came, they would neuer touch tree, or fruit any more. Our old man deſired beſides, that they would ſhew him the place of *Anthonyes* tombe: but they leading him apart, we are yet vncertaine, whether they ſhewed it or not. They ſay, that the reaſon why *Anthony* commanded it to be concealed, was for feare leaſt one *Pergamus*, who was a very rich man in thoſe partes, ſhould carry the Saints body to his village, & ſo there erect a ſhryne.

But now *Hilarion* returning to *Aphroditos*, (and adioyning ōly two of his Brothers to himſelfe) remayned in the deſart, which is next that place, in the practiſe of ſo great abſtinence and ſilence, as that he ſayd, he began to ſerue Chriſt but then. Now then it had beene about three yeares, when the heauēs ſeemed to be ſhut, and had dryed vp the earth; ſo that they vſed to ſay, that euen the Elements did lament the death of *Anthony*. Neither did the fame of *Hilarion* ly hidden from the inhabitants alſo of that place; but the men & woemen there, hauing their faces all growen wanne and worne with hunger, came crowding to deſire ſome ſhowres of rayne of the ſeruant of Chriſt, that is, of the ſucceſſour of the Bleſſed *Anthony*. As ſoone as he beheld them, he was ſtricken with ſtrange griefe, and caſting his eyes vp to heauen, and rayſing both his handes on high, he inſtantly obtayned what they deſired. But behould that dry and ſandy country, as ſoone as it was wel watered with raine, budded forth vpon the ſudden ſuch a multitude of Serpents, and other venemous creatures, that innumerable perſons had inſtantly periſhed, if they had not made recourſe to *Hilarion*. But all thoſe Sheepheards, & Country people, applying certaine Oyle which he had bleſſed, did aſſuredly recouer their health. Yet perceauing himſelfe to be alſo obſerued there with ſtrange kindes of honour, he went on to *Alexandria*, & reſolued to proceed from thence to that deſart of the more remote *Oaſa*: and becauſe from the firſt tyme that he had beene a Moncke, he had neuer remayned in any Citty, he turned a while to certaine Brothers wel knowne to him in *Brutium* not farre from *Alexandria*, who

when they had receaued the old man with an admirable kind of ioy, they ſuddenly heard (the night being then at hand) that his diſciples were making ready his Aſſe, and that he was prouiding to be gone. And therfore caſting themſelues at his feet they deſired him to change his mind, and then lying alſo proſtrate before the threſhold of the doore, they profeſſed that they would rather dy, then looſe ſuch a gueſt. He anſwered them after this manner: *I make haſt to be gone, for the preuenting of your trouble; and you ſhall be ſure to know heereafter, that I went not hence ſo ſuddenly without cauſe.* The next day therefore they of *Gaza* went forth with their officers (for they knew that *Hilarion* was come thither the day before) and they entred into the Monaſtery; and when they found him not there, they ſayd thus to one another: *Are not thoſe thinges true, which we haue ſayd of this man? A Magitian he is, and knowes future thinges.* But the Citty of *Gaza* (when once *Hilarion* was gone out of Paleſtine, and *Iulianus* had ſucceeded in the Empire, (hauing already deſtroyed the Monaſtery) made a petition to the Emperour for the death of *Hilarion* and *Heſychius*, and they obtayned it, and warrants were ſent out through the whole world, that they ſhould be ſought. *Hilarion* therfore being gone from *Brutium*, entred into *Oaſa* by an impenetrable kind of deſart, and there hauing ſpent little more or leſſe then a yeare, he could only thinke of ſayling ouer to ſome Ilandes; that whome the earth had publiſhed, at leaſt the Sea might conceale: for the fame of him had alſo arriued, as farre as that place, where thē he was, and now he could no longer hide himſelfe in the Eaſterne partes of the world, where he was knowne to ſo many both by reputation, and perſon. About that very tyme *Adrianus* a diſciple of his, came ſuddenly to him out of Paleſtine, bringing newes that *Iulian* was ſlaine, and that a Chriſtian Emperour began to raigne, and that it became him to returne ro the Relickes of his Monaſtery. He heard, but deteſted that motiō, & hauing procured a Camell, he came through a vaſt ſolitude to *Paretonium*, a Sea-towne of *Libya*: but the vnfortunate *Adrian*, being willing to returne to Paleſtine, and ſeeking to enioy his former glory vnder the title of his Maſter, did him many wronges, and at laſt hauing truſſed vp thoſe things togeather

togeather, which had beene ſent to *Hilarion* by certaine Brothers, he went away without his priuity. Vpon this occaſiō (becauſe we are not likely to haue any other) I will only tell you, for the terrour of ſuch as deſpiſe their Maiſters and teachers, that ſhortly after, this man did rot of the Kings euill.

The old man therefore, hauing one of *Gaza* with him, did embarke himſelfe vpon a ſhip, which was bound for *Sicily*, and when by the ſale of a booke contayning the Ghoſpell (which himſelfe being young had written with his owne hādes) he meant to haue payd for his paſſage; the Maſters ſonne was ſuddenly poſſeſſed by a Diuell, about the middeſt of the *Adriatike* ſea, and began to cry out, and ſay: *Hilarion, thou ſeruant of God, why doſt thou not permit vs to be in ſafety, euen at Sea? Giue me day till I may come to land, leaſt being caſt out heere, I be precipitated into the Abyſſe.* He made anſwere to him thus: *Stay, if my God will let thee ſtay; but if he will caſt thee out, why doſt thou lay it to my charge, who am a ſinnefull man, and a beggar?* This he ſayd, leaſt the Marriners, and Marchants, who were in the ſhip ſhould publiſh him, when they came to land. But ſoone after this, the boy was freed; both his father and the reſt, who were preſent giuing their wordes, that they would not name him at all. Being entred within *Pachinum*, which is a Promōtory of *Sicily*, he offered the Maiſter his booke of the Ghoſpels for the paſſage of himſelfe and the man of *Gaza*, which Maiſter euen from the firſt had no mind to receaue it, eſpecially when he ſaw that they had nothing but that booke, and their cloaths, and ſo at laſt he ſwore he would not take it. But the old man being inflammed through the experimentall comfort he had in being poore, did reioyce ſo much the more, both becauſe in very deed he had nothing of this world, and for that he was alſo eſteemed a beggar by the Inhabitants of that place. And yet doubting leaſt ſome Marchants, who vſed to come out of the Eaſterne parts, might detect him, he fled towardes the In-land, that is, ſome twenty miles from the Sea, and there in a kind of wild little Country, making daily vp ſome fagot of wood, he would lay it vpon the backe of his diſciple; and that being ſold in the next Towne did help them to ſome very little bread, which might ſerue by way

way of reliefe, both to themſelues, and ſuch others as by chaunce vſed to paſſe that way.

But indeed according to that which is written, *The Citty placed vpon a hill cannot be concealed*. For when a certaine Buckler-maker was tormented in S. *Peters* Church at Rome, the vncleane ſpirit cryed out in him after this manner: *Some few dayes ſince Hilarion the ſeruant of Chriſt came into Sicily, and no mã knowes him, and he thinkes he lyes ſecret there; but I will go, and reueale him*. Soone after this, the ſame man ſhipping himſelfe at *Porto* with his ſeruants, arriued at *Pachinum*, & the Diuel conducting him, till he might proſtrate himſelfe before the little poore cottage of the old man, he was immediatly cured. This firſt miracle of his in *Sicily*, drew an innumerable multitude of ſicke men, as alſo of deuout perſons to him; ſo farre forth, that a certaine man of much quality being ſicke of a Dropſy, was cured by him the ſame day he came thither: who afterwardes being willing to make him many preſents, heard the Saint vſe this ſaying of our Sauiour to his Diſciples, *Freely you haue receaued, freely giue*.

Whileſt theſe thinges were doing in *Sicily*, *Heſychius* his diſciple went looking the old man ouer the whole world, making diſcouery vpon the Sea-coſts, and penetrating euen into the deſarts, & hauing in fine this only confidence, that wherſoener he ſhould be, it was not poſſible for him to be long concealed. When therefore three yeares were ſpent, he vnderſtood at *Methona* by a certaine Iew (who was ſelling certaine traſh to the people) that a Chriſtian Prophet had appeared in *Sicily*, working ſo many miracles and wonderfull things, that he might be held for one of the auncient Saints. Being asked concerning his habit, his gate, his language, & eſpecially his age, he could make no anſwere; for he affirmed that he knew not the man, but by report. Entring therefore into the *Adriaticke*, he came with a proſperous wind to *Pachinum*, & enquiring after the fame of our old man, in a certaine little towne which was ſeated vpon that crooked ſhoare, he found by the vniforme relation of them all, where he was, and what he he did: all they wondring at nothing ſo much in him as that, after ſo many ſignes, and miracles, he had not taken ſo much

as

as a bit of bread, of any man in thoſe partes. And to make ſhort, the holy man *Heſychius*, coming at length to caſt himſelf at his Maiſters feet, and to water them with his teares, was rayſed vp by him, & after the diſcourſe of two or three dayes, he vnderſtood by him of *Gaza*, that the old man would now no longer remaine in thoſe partes, but that he would go on, to certaine Barbarous nations, where his name and language might be vnknowne. He lead him therefore to *Epidaurus*, a Towne of *Dalmatia*, and remayning a few dayes in certaine partes neere by, he yet could not ly concealed. For a Dragon of wonderfull bignes, whome in their tongue they call *Boas*, in regard they are ſo great as to ſwallow vp whole Oxen, waſted all that Prouince farre and neere, and drawing to himſelfe with the force of his breath, not only heards of Cattel, & flockes of ſheep, but Country people alſo and Shepheards, he would ſucke and ſwallow them vp. When therefore he had firſt ſent vp his prayer to Chriſt, & had appointed a great pile of wode to be prepared, he called the monſter, & commaunded him to clime vp that maſſe of wood, and he put fire to it vnderneath: and ſo (the whole people looking on) he burnt vp that vaſt and moſt cruell beaſt. But he being in great difficulty, what he were then beſt to doe, and which way to turne himſelfe, was preparing to make another flight. And reuoluing the moſt ſolitary countryes in his mind, he grieued, that whileſt his tongue was ſilent, his Miracles would not hould their peace.

At that tyme, the Seas tranſgreſſed their boundes, vpon that earthquake of the whole world, which happened after the death of *Iulian*. And as if God would threaten men with ſome new deluge, or els that all thinges were to returne into their firſt *Chaos*, ſo hung the ſhips, being hoyſed vp to the ſteepy tops of thoſe mountaines. Which as ſoone as they of *Epidaurus* ſaw, namely thoſe roaring and raging waues, and that maſſe of waters; and that whole mountaines were brought in vpon the ſhoares, by thoſe rapid floods, (being in feare of that which already in effect they found to be come to paſſe, that the Towne would vtterly be ouerwhelmed) they went on to the old man, and as if they had beene going to a battell, they

they placed him for their Captaine vpon the ſhoare. But as ſoone as he had made three ſignes of the Croſſe vpō the ſand, and held vp his handes againſt the Sea, it is incredible to be tould into what a huge height it ſwelled, & ſtood vp before him, and raging ſo, a long tyme, and being as it were in a kind of indignation, at the impediment which it found; it did yet by little & little ſlide backe againe into it ſelfe. And this doth *Epidaurus*, and all that Region proclaime euen to this day, & mothers teach it to their children, that ſo the memory thereof may be deliuered ouer to poſterity. That which was ſayd to the Apoſtles, *If you haue fayth, and ſhall ſay to this mountaine, tranſport thy ſelfe into the ſea, and it ſhall be done*, may truely and euen litterally be fullfilled now, if any man haue the fayth of an Apoſtle, or ſuch fayth as our Lord commanded them to haue. For wherin doth it differ, whether a mountaine deſcend into the Sea, or els whether huge mountaines of water, grow ſuddenly hard, being as if they were of ſtone, iuſt befor the feet of the old man, and that yet on the other ſide, they ſhould runne fluid and ſoft. The whole Citty was in a wonder, and the greatnes of the miracle was publickly knowne as farre as *Salon*. But as ſoone as the old man vnderſtood thereof, he ſtole away by night in a little boate, & within two dayes after, finding a Marchants ſhip, he went on towards *Cyprus*. But the Pirates then, betweene *Malea* and *Cythera*, hauing left their fleet vpon the ſhoare (which was not gouerned by way of maſts, and ſayles, but by longes pooles) were coming towardes our Paſſingers, in two large Brigantines, with the waues beating vpon them on euery ſide. All the Marriners who were in his ſhip, began to quake, to weep, to runne vp and downe, to make their long poles ready; and (as if one meſſenger were not ſufficient) to crowd in vpon the old mā, and to tell him that the Pirates were at hand. Whome beholding, before they were yet come necre, he ſmiled, and turning towardes his diſciples ſayd: *Why are you frighted, O yee of little fayth? Are theſe men more in number, then Pharaos army? yet all that was drowned by the will of God*. Whileſt he was yet ſpeaking, that multitude of enemies came on with the ſtemme of their boates all in a foame, and were then cloſe vpon him,

within

within a ſtones caſt. He therefore went to ſtand in the prow of his ſhip, and ſtretching forth his hand againſt the aſſailáts, he ſayd: *Let it ſuffice that you are come ſo farre.* O wondrous strá-gething to be belieued! The Boates did inſtantly fly of, & the men were ſtill ſtriuing the cõtrary way with their oares, but yet the boates ſtill gaue backe towardes their Pup. The Pirates were amazed at it, ſtill reſoluing not to retire: but yet though they laboured with the imploiment of their whole ſtrength, that they might reach the ſhip, they were ſtill borne away towardes the ſhoare, with farre greater ſpeed, then they came from thence.

I forbeare to ſpeake of the reſt, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to extend my ſelfe too farre in the relation of this miracles. This only I will ſay, that whileſt he was ſayling among thy *Cyclads* the noyſe of impure ſpirits was heard to be crying out from the Cities and Townes there abouts, as if they were approaching towardes the ſhoare. He therefore being come to *Paphos*, that Citty of *Cyprus* (which hath beene ſo ennobled by the inuention of Poets, and which being fallen by frequent earthquaks, doth now by the only appearance of the ruines, ſhew what formerly it had beene) liued obſcurely within two miles of that place, & was glad that he might ſpend thoſe few dayes in peace. But twenty dayes more were not fully paſſed, when throughout that whole Iland, all thoſe perſons who were poſſeſſed with vncleane ſpirits, began to cry out, that *Hilarion* the ſeruant of Chriſt was come, & they muſt haſten towards him. This did *Salamina*, this did *Curium* and *Lapetha*, and this did all thoſe other Cittyes proclaime, moſt of them affirming, that indeed they knew *Hilarion*, and that he was the true ſeruant of God, but that they knew not where he kept. So that within thirty or few dayes more, there came to him two hundred poſſeſſed perſons, as well men, as woemen. As ſoone as he ſaw them, he did ſo griene, that they would not giue him leaue to be quiet; and (being cruell after a ſort, in the way of reuenge vpon himſelfe) he did ſo whip vp thoſe ſpirits by the extreame inſtance of his prayers, that ſome of the poſſeſſed were preſently deliuered, others after two or three dayes, and all within the compaſſe of a weeke. Staying therefore

fore there two yeares, and euer being in thought how to fly away, he sent *Hesychius* into Palestine to salute his Brethren, and to visit the ashes or ruines of his Monastery, with order, that he should returne the next spring after. Now though vpon the former returne of *Hesychius* thither, *Hilarion* resolued to haue gone againe into *Ægypt*, and namely to certaine places which are called *Bucolia*, because no Christiãs were there; but it was a fierce and barbarous nation: *Hesychius* did yet persuade him that he should rather procure to find out some more retired place in that very Iland where he was. And when after long search in all those partes, *Hesychius* had found one, he conducted him twelue miles of from the Sea into the middle of certaine secret & craggy mountaines, to which a man was hardly able to ascend, euen by creeping vpon his handes and knees. He entred then, and contemplated that so retyred and terrible place, enuironed on all sides with trees, and hauing store of water descending from the brow of the hill, and a little kind of very delightfull garden, and great store of fruit-trees, the fruit wherof he yet did neuer taste. There were also the ruines of a most ancient Temple, from whence (as himself related, and his disciples testify to this present day) there was heard the noyse of such an innumerable multitude of Diuels, as that a man would euen conceaue it to haue beene some Army. He was much delighted with this, as finding that he had *Antagonists* at hand; and there he dwelt fifteen yeares, and in that last part of his life, he was much comforted by the often visits of *Hesychius*. For otherwise by reason of the great difficulty and craggines of the place, and the multitude of Ghosts which were vulgarly sayd to be walking there, either very few or none, had both the power and the courage to go vp thither. But yet vpon a certaine day, going out of his little gardē, he saw a man, who had the Palsy in all his limes, lying before his dore, and he asked *Hesychius*, who that was, and how he had beene brought thither? The sicke man answered and sayd that formerly he had beene the Steward of a little village, to the confines whereof that very garden belonged, wherein they were. But the old man weeping, & stretching forth his hand to the sicke person, who lay before him, sayd:

I require thee in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that thou ryſe and walke. An admirable haſt was made, for the wordes were yet but tumbling out of the ſpeakers mouth, and euen very then, his limmes being growne ſtrong, were able to ſupport him. Now as ſooneas this was heard, the difficulty of the place and of the way, which was euen almoſt impenetrable, was yet ouercome by the neceſſityes of men; the people round about hauing no care more at heart then to watch, that by no meanes he might get away. For already there was a rumour ſpread of him, that he could not ſtay long in a place; which yet he was not ſubiect to, as being obnoxious to any leuity, or childiſh humour; but to the end that he might fly from honour, & importunity by that meanes: for the thing to which he euer aſpired, was a remote and poore priuate life. But in the eightyth yeare of his age, whileſt *Heſychius* was abſent, he wrote him a ſhort letter with his owne hand, in the nature of a kind of *Vvill*, bequeathing al his riches to him; that is to ſay, his booke of the Ghoſpels, his coate of ſacke-cloath, his hood, and his little cloake; for his ſeruant dyed ſome few dayes before. Now whileſt himſelfe was ſicke, there came many deuout perſons to him from *Paphos*, and eſpecially, becauſe they had heard, he ſayd, that he was to depart to our Lord, and to be freed from the chaines of this body. With them, there came a certaine *Conſtantia* a holy woman, whoſe ſonne in law and daughter, he had freed from death by anoynting thē with oyle. He adiured them all, that they would not reſerue his body any one minut of an houre, after he ſhould be dead, but that inſtantly, they ſhould couer him with earth in the ſame garden, all apparelled as he was, in a haire-cloath, a hood, and a country caſſocke. By that tyme, he had but a very little heat, which kept his breaſt luke-warme, nor did any thing ſeeme to remaine in him of a liuing man, beſides his vnderſtanding; only his eyes, being ſtill open, he ſpake thus: *Go forth, what doſt thou feare? Go forth, O my ſoule: what doſt thou doubt? It is now vpon the point of threeſcore and ten yeares ſince thou ſerueſt Chriſt, and doſt thou now feare death?* As he was ſpeaking theſe wordes, he rendred vp his ſpirit, and inſtantly being al couered with earth, the newes of his buriall was more ſpee-

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dily carryed to the Citty, then of his death. But as ſoone as the holy man *Heſychius* had vnderſtood thus much in Paleſtine, he went towardes *Cyprus* and (pretending that he had a mind to take vp his dwelling in the ſame garden (that ſo he might free the Inhabitants of the Country from the opinion, that they had need to keep ſome ſtrict guard vpon the body) he grew able to ſteale it away, after the end of ten moneths, with extreame hazard of his life. He brought it to *Maioma*, whole troupes of Monckes, and euen whole Townes attending it; and he buryed it in his ancient Monaſtery; his haire-cloath, his hood, and his little cloake, being vntouched, and his whole body was alſo as entire as if he had beene thē aliue, and it yeilded and odour ſo very fragrant, as if he had beene pretiouſly imbalmed.

And now me thinkes, that in the laſt period of this booke I may not conceale the deuotion of that moſt holy woman *Conſtantia*, who vpon receauing the newes, that the dear body of *Hilarion* was now carryed away into Paleſtine, did inſtantly giue vp the ghoſt, approuing euen by death her true loue to that ſeruant of God. For ſhe had beene wont to ſpend whole nights in watching at his ſepulcher; and for her better help in prayer, to ſpeake to him as with one who were ſtill preſent with her. To this very day you may diſcerne a wonderfull contention betweene them of *Paleſtine*, and them of *Cyprus*; the former challenging his body, and the later his ſpirit, and yet in both theſe places, great wonders are daily wrought; though more in the garden of *Cyprus*, perhaps becauſe his heart was more ſet vpon that place.

FINIS.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. MALCHVS WRITTEN BY S. HIEROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE *life & captiuity of* MALCHVS, *who was borne in* Maronia *a towne of* Syria, *is deſcribed by* S. Hierome; *and in the perſon of* MALCHVS *he expoſes firſt to the Readers eye a ſolitary and famous Moncke; and then the ſame, as he was vexed and afflicted with temptations.*

THE LIFE.

THEY who are to fight ſome ſea battell, diſpoſe themſelues firſt to ſtirre their ſhips in the hauen, or at leaſt in a ſtill Sea; they ſtretch their Oares; they prepare their iron handes & hookes, and they frame the ſouldiers, who are ranged out vpon the deckes, to ſtand faſt with vſe, though at the firſt their paces were vnequall, and their ſteps ſliding: that ſo what they haue learned in this picture of fight, may make them feare the leſſe, when they come to a true Sea battell. After this very ſort I, who haue long held my peace (for he hath made me ſilent, to whome my ſpeach is a torment) deſire firſt to exerciſe my ſelfe in ſome little work,

and, as it were to rub off a kind of ruſt from my tongue, that I may come afterwardes to write a more ample hiſtory. For I haue reſolued if our Lord giue me life, & if my calumniators will leaue perſecuting me (at leaſt now that I am fled & ſhut vp from them) to write from the coming of our Sauiour till this age; that is to ſay, from the Apoſtles, till the dregges of theſe our preſent dayes; in what manner, and by the meanes of what men the Church of Chriſt was inſtituted; and how it came to growth; how it increaſed by perſecution, and was crowned by Martyrdomes; & how afterward when the Empire was put into the hand of Chriſtian Princes, it grew greater in wealth, and power, but leſſe in vertue. But of theſe things at ſome other tyme: now let vs declare what we haue in hand.

There is a little Towne lying towardes the Eaſt of *Maronia*, a Citty of *Syria*, vpon the point of thirty miles from *Antioch*. This towne after hauing beene in the handes of many, either abſolute Lords or Poſſeſſours of it otherwiſe, came at laſt (when I being a young man remained in *Syria*) into the hands of Pope *Euagrius* a neere friend of myne; whome therefore I haue named now, to ſhew by what meanes I might come to know that, whereof I am about to write. In that Towne therefore there was a certaine old man called *Malchus*, whome we in Latin may call *King*. A *Syrian* he was by natiō, and by language, and indeed *Autochthon*. There was alſo in his ſociety a very aged decrepit woman, who ſeemed to be come to the very dores of death. They were both ſo diligently deuout, and ſo did they weare the very threſhold of the Church away, that you might haue taken them for the *Zachary* and *Elizabeth* of the Ghoſpell, ſaue only that they had no *Iohn* betweene them. Concerning theſe two, I made diligent inquiry of the dwellers there about, by what tye of coniunction they were knit? of mariage? of conſanguinity? or of ſpirit? All men made but this one anſweare, that they were Saints, and perſons very pleaſing to God; and they tould I know not what ſtrange thinges of them: and ſo being drawne on with this delight, my ſelfe did ſet vpon the man, and curiouſly aſking him the truth of things, he made me this account of himſelfe.

ſelfe. I am (ſayth he,) my ſonne, a husband-man of that tract which belonges to *Maronia*, and I was the only child of my Parents, who being willing to make me marry, as being the only ſpring of their ſtocke, and the heire of their family; I answeared that I rather choſe to be a Moncke. By how great threates of my Father, and by how faire allurements of my Mother, I was perſecuted, to the end that I might be content to looſe my chaſtity; this only conſideration may ſerue to ſhew, that I forſooke my home, & fled from my Parents. And becauſe I could not goe Eaſtward (for that *Perſia* was ſo neer at hand, where there was a guard of Roman ſouldiers) I turned my courſe toward the Weſt, carrying I know not what little thing with me, by way of prouiſion, which might only ſecure me frō the extreamity of want. Why ſhould I vſe many wordes? At length I came to the deſart of *Chalcis*, which lyes ſomewhat Southward of *Imma*, and *Eſſa*, and meeting there with certaine Monckes, I deliuered my ſelfe ouer to their diſcipline; getting my liuing by the labour of my handes, and reſtraining the luſtfullnes of fleſh and blood, by faſting. After many yeares, a deſire came into my mind of returning into my country; & whileſt my Mother was yet aliue (for by that tyme I had heard of my Fathers death) to become a comfort of her widdowhood, and that then after this, hauing ſould the little poſſeſſion which I was to enioy, I might beſtow a part vpon the poore, a part vpon erecting a Monaſtery, and a part (for why ſhould I bluſh to confeſſe my little confidence in the prouidēce of God?) vpon the ſupply of myne owne expence & charge. My Abbot began to tell me alowd, that it was but a temptation of the Diuell, and that the ſubtile ſnare of the old enemy, did but lurke vnder a ſpecious pretext. That this was but to returne, as a dogge would do to his vomite: that many Monckes had beene thus deceaued: that the Diuell is neuer wont to ſhew his face without a maske. He propounded many examples to me out of Scripture, and that among the reſt, how in the beginning of the world *Adam* and *Eue* were ſupplanted by a hope of diuinity. And when he could not perſuade with me, he beſought me euen vpon his knees, that I would not forſake him, nor deſtroy my ſelfe, nor looke backe

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ouer the ſhoulder, when I had the plowgh in my hand. But woe be to me wretched man, I ouercame this Counſellour of myne by a moſt wicked kinde of victory conceauing indeed that he ſought not my good, but his owne comfort. He went following me therefore out of the Monaſtery, as if he had beene carrying me to a graue, and giuing me at laſt a long farewell: *I ſhall ſee thee* (ſayth he) *o my ſonne, marked out by the burning iron of Sathan; I inquire not after thy reaſons, nor do I admit of thy excuſes; the Sheep which goes out of the fould, doth inſtantly lye open to the wolues mouth.*

Vpon the paſſage from *Beria* to *Eſſa*, there is a deſert neer the high way, where the *Saracens* are euer wandring vp and downe in their inconſtant kind of habitations, the feare wherof make trauaillers reſolue not to paſſe that way but in great troupes; that ſo their eminent danger may be auoyded by the mutuall help of one another. There were in my company mē and woemen, old men, young men, and children to the number of ſeauenty in the whole; and behould thoſe *Iſmaeliticall* riders of their horſes and Camels, ruſhed in vpon vs with their heades full of haire tyed vp with ribandes, their bodyes halfe naked, wearing but mantles, and large hoſe: at their ſhoulders hung their quiuers, and ſhaking their vnbent bows, they carryed alſo long dartes; for they came not with a mind to fight but to driue a prey. We were taken, we were ſcattered, and all diſtracted into ſeueral wayes. As for me, who had beene the naturall owner of my ſelfe for a long tyme before, by lot I fel vnder the ſeruitude of the ſame Maiſter with a certaine woman. We were lead, or rather we were carryed loftily away vpon Camels, and being alwayes in feare of ruine through out all that vaſt deſert, we did rather hang, then ſit. Fleſh halfe raw was our meat, and the blood of Camels our drinke. At length hauing paſſed ouer a large riuer, we came to a more inward deſert, where being commanded (according to the manner of that nation) to adore the Lady, and her children whoſe ſlaues we were, we bowed downe our necks. But heere being as good as ſhut in priſon, and hauing our attyre changed, I begun to learne to go naked; for the intemperatenes of that ayer permits not any thing to be couered,

but

but the ſecret parts. The care of feeding the ſheep was turned ouer to me; & in compariſon of a greater miſery, I might account my ſelfe to enioy a kind of comfort, in that by this meanes I ſeldom ſaw either my Lords, or my fellow-ſeruāts: me thought I had ſomewhat in my condition, like that of holy *Iacob*; I alſo remēbred *Moyſes*: for both they had ſometymes beene ſhepheardes in the deſert. I fed vpon greene cheeſe and milke; I prayed continually, and ſung thoſe pſalmes which I had learned in the Monaſtery. I tooke delight in my captiuity, I gaue thankes to the iudgments of God for my hauing found that Moncke in the wildernes, whome I had loſt in myne owne country. But, o how farre is any thing from being ſafe from the Diuell! O how manifould, and vnſpeakeable are his ſnares! For euen when I ſo lay hid, his enuy made a ſhift to find me out. My Lord therefore obſeruing, that his flocke proſpered in my hand, and not finding any falſhoud in me (for I knew the Apoſtle to haue commaunded, that we ſhould faythfully ſerue our Lords, as we would do God) and he being willing to reward me, that thereby he might oblige me to be yet more faythfull to him, gaue me that the-fellow-ſlaue, who had formerly been taken captiue with me. And when I refuſed to accept her, affirming that I was a Chriſtian, and that it was not lawfull for me to take her for a wife, who had a husband yet aliue (for that husband of hers had alſo beene taken togeather with vs, and carryed away as the ſlaue of another Lord) he grew all fierce and implacable towardes me, and euen like a mad man began to runne at me with his naked ſword, and if inſtantly I had not ſtretched forth myne armes, and taken hould of the woman, he had not fayled to take my life. And now, that night arriued, which came too ſoone for me, and was the darkeſt that euer I ſaw. I lead this new halfe defiled wife, into a caue; hauing taken bitter ſorrow for the vſher, who was to lead vs home from the wedding; and both of vs abhorred one another, though neither of vs confeſt ſo much. Then had I indeed a liuely feeling of my bondage, and laying my ſelfe proſtrate vpon the ground, I began to be-

bewayle the Moncke whome I had loſt, ſaying: *Wretched creature that I am, haue I beene kept all this while aliue for this? Haue my grieuous ſinnes beene able to bring me to ſo great miſery, as that hitherto being a Virgin, yet when now I find my head full of hoary haires, I ſhould become a marryed man? VVhat auayles it me to haue contemned my Parents, my Country, and my goodes for the loue of our Lord, if now I doe that thing, for the auoyding whereof, I contemned all the reſt? vnleſſe perhaps all theſe miſeries are come iuſtly vpon me, becauſe I would needes returne to my Country? But tel me, o my ſoule, what are we doing? Shall I perish, or ſhall I ouercom? Shall I expect the hand of God, or ſhal I runne my ſelfe vpon the point of my owne ſword? Turne thy ſword vpon thy ſelfe: the death of thy ſoule is more to be feared; then that of thy body. It is a kind of Martyrdome for a man rather to haue ſuffered death, then to haue loſt his virginity. Let this witnes of Chriſt remaine vnburyed in the wildernes; my ſelfe will be both the perſecutour & the martyr.* Hauing ſpoken thus, I vnſheathed my ſhining ſword, in that darke place, and turning the point againſt my ſelfe, I ſayd: *Farewell vnfortunate woman, and take me rather as a Martyr, then as a marryed man.* But ſhe caſting her ſelfe downe at my feet, ſpake to me in theſe wordes: *I beſeech you for the loue of Ieſus Chriſt, and I adiure you by the ſtraightes, wherein we find our ſelues in this ſad houre, do not caſt the guilt of ſhedding your blood vpon me; or if there be no remedy, but that you will needs dye, turne firſt your ſword vpon me, and let vs rather be married thus in death, then otherwiſe. Although myne owne husband ſhould returne to me, I would obſerue chaſtity, which I haue beene taught by my captiuity; yea I would keep it ſo, as that I would rather wish that I might perish, then it. VVhy ſhould you dy, rather then be marryed to me, who would reſolue to dy, if you ſhould reſolue to marry? Take me to you, as the wife of chaſtity, and eſteeme more the coniunction of the ſoule, then of the body. Let our Lords conceaue vs to be man and wife; but let Chriſt know vs to be as Brother and Siſter. VVe ſhall eaſily perſwade men that we are marryed, when they ſee that we do ſo entirely loue one another.*

I confeſſe I was amazed, and admiring the vertue of the woman, I loued her the better for that kind of wife: but

but yet did I neuer ſo much as behould her naked bo-
dy; I neuer touched her fleſh, for feare leaſt I might looſe
that in peace, which I had preſerued in warre. Many dayes
paſſed on betweene vs in this kind of matrimony; this mari-
age making vs more acceptable to our Lords and Maiſters,
as freeing them from all ſuſpition of our running away: yea
ſometymes it would fall out, that I might be abſent in that
deſert for a whole moneth togeather, like a Shepheard well
truſted with his flocke. After a long ſpace of tyme, whileſt
I was ſitting alone in the wildernes, ſeeing nothing but
heauen and earth before me, I began to conſider with my
ſelfe in ſilence, and to reuolue many thinges in my heart,
which I had knowne, when I conuerſed with the Moncks;
and eſpecially I called to mind the countenance of that Fa-
ther of myne, who had inſtructed, who had cheriſhed, and
who had loſt me. And whileſt I was beating vpon theſe
thoughtes, I behould a flocke of Antes, to ſwarme in a cer-
taine ſtraight paſſage, who carryed burdens euen greater thē
their own bodyes; ſome of them had taken vp certaine ſeeds
of herbes with their mouths, as if it had been with pincers;
others were carrying earth out of ditches, and would make
certaine fences againſt the entry in of water; ſome, remem-
bring that there was a winter to come, tooke of graines of
corne, & brought thē in, leaſt the earth when it ſhould grow
wet, might conuert the corne already gathered into new
corne for the next yeare; others carryed the bodyes of their
dead with a ſad kind of ſolemnity; and (which yet is more
to be wondered at) there was none going forth, of all that
troupe, who would hinder any one that entred in, but ra-
ther if they diſcouered any, who were in danger of falling
vnder their waight or burden, they would lend him their
ſhoulders to keep him vp. What ſhall I ſay more? That day
ſhewed me a pleaſant obiect. Whereupon, remembring *Sa-
lomon*, who ſendes vs to imitate the ſharp ſighted prouidence
of Antes, and ſtirring vp our ſloathfull mindes by their ex-
ample; I began to be weary of my captiuity, and to aſpire
towardes the Cels of Monkes againe, and to loue the reſem-
blance

blance of thoſe Antes, in that they labour in common, where nothing is proper to any one, but all thinges belong to all. When I went backe to my lodging, I ſee the woman coming towardes me, nor was I able to diſſemble the ſorrow of my heart. She asked me, why I was ſo troubled? I tell her my reaſons, and ſhe exhorted that we might take our flight. I coniure her to promiſe ſilence; ſhe giues me aſſurance, and ſo continually whiſpering about this buſines, we were layd and toſſed betweene hope and feare.

I had in that heard two Goates of a huge bignes; which being killed, I make veſſells of their skinnes, and I prepare their fleſh, for our prouiſion. And the firſt euening when our Lords might conceaue that we were layd to reſt, we ſet vpon our iourney, carrying the skinnes and the meat. When we were come to a riuer, which was ſome ten miles of, we commit our ſelues to the waters, hauing firſt layd our ſelues vpon theſe skines, which were ſtuffed out; and we holpe our ſelues with our feet, as it might haue beene with oares, that ſo the riuer carrying vs downeward, and landing vs much lower on the other ſide of the bancke, then where we put our ſelues into the water, they who followed vs might looſe the trace of our feet. But in the meane tyme our fleſh being wet, and part of it alſo being loſt, it did hardly promiſe vs food for three dayes. We drunke euen to ſatiety, by way of prouiſion againſt the thirſt which we were to haue afterward. We ranne, and yet euer looking behind our backes; & made more way by night then by day, partly by reaſon of the danger, which might haue growne to vs by the *Saracens*, and partly through the exceſſiue heate of the Sunne. Wretch that I am; I tremble euen whileſt I am but telling it: and though indeed I be wholy now ſecure, yet all my body quakes to thinke thereof. For after the third day, we ſaw a farre of in a doubtfull kind of ſight, two men ſitting vpon Camells, who were coming towardes vs at full ſpeed: and preſently our mind, which was apt to foretel miſchiefe to vs, began to thinke that our Lord and Maiſter had reſolued our death, and that we euen ſaw the Sunne grow blacke towardes

wardes vs. Whileſt we were thus in feare, & conceaued our ſelues to be betrayed by our footeſteps printed vpon the ſand; we found a Caue vpon our right hand, which pierced farre vnder ground. But fearing leaſt we might fall vpon ſome venemous beaſtes (for Vipers and Baſiliskes and Scorpions, & ſuch other creaturs, declining that great heat of the Sunne, are wont to betake themſelues to the ſhad) we entred indeed into the Caue; but inſtantly at that very entrãce, we committed our ſelues to a hollow, which was within vpon the right hãd, not daring to proceed any further on, leaſt by flying one kind of death, we might haue fallẽ vpon another: conceauing this within our ſelues, that if God will help vs as being miſerable, we ſhall be ſafe; but if he deſpiſe vs, as being ſinnefull, we ſhall fall into the handes of death. What kind of heart do you think we had? What kind of fright were we in, when our Lord, & a fellow ſlaue of ours were ſtanding neere the Caue, and by the print of our feet were already arriued as farre, as that darknes would giue them leaue? O death how much more grieuous art thou in expectation, then in effect! Euen againe my tongue growes to falter with feare and care, and as if my Lord were but now crying out vpõ me, I haue not the heart to whiſper out a word. He ſent his ſlaue to fetch vs out of the Caue; himſelfe houldes the Camells, and hauing drawne his ſword, he expects our coming forth. In the meane tyme, that ſeruant being gone three or foure cubites on, we ſeeing him with his backe towardes vs, (for the nature of our ſight is ſuch, as that all things are darke to thoſe who enter into any obſcure place, after they haue beene in the Sunne) we heard his voice ſound through the denne: *Come forth you villaines out, you who are deſigned for death. VVhat do you expect? VVhy do you ſtay? get you out our Lord calls you, he expects you with patience.* Whileſt he was yet ſpeaking, behould we ſaw, euen in that darknes, that a Lyoneſſe already ruſhed vpõ that man, & hauing ſtrangled him, drew him all bloody in. Deare Ieſus, how full were we of terrour, and of ioy withall! We perceaued our enemy deſtroyed, though our Lord and Maiſter knew it not. For

when he ſaw the delay, he ſuſpected that we two had reſiſted one, and ſo not being able to differ his wrath, he came forward to the Caue with his ſword in his hand, and reproaching his ſlaue of cowardiſe, with a furious kind of rage, he was firſt ſeiſed vpon by the Beaſt, before he came to our retreate. Who are they, which can belieue, that the Beaſt ſhould fight for vs, in our owne preſence? But being freed from that feare, the like deſtruction preſented it ſelfe before our imaginations; ſauing that it was ſafer to endure the rage of a Lyoneſſe, then the wrath of a man. We were afflicted with feare, euen to the very heartes, and not venturing ſo much as once to ſtirre, we expected the euent of the buſines, in the middeſt of ſo many dangers, being only defended, as with a wal, by the conſcience which we had of our chaſtity. The Lyoneſſe being wary, leaſt ſhe might chance to fall into ſome ſnare; and finding that ſhe was ſeene, takes faſt hould of her whelpes, and carryes them forth, and leaues the lodging to our vſe. Neither yet were we ſo credulous as to breake out in haſt; but expecting long, and ſometimes thinking to go out, we neuer had a fancy, as if we were to fall vpon wild beaſts. But at length, after the end of the next day, the horrour in which we were being remoued, out we went in the euening, and we ſaw ſome kind of Camels, whome for the exceſſiuenes of their ſpeed they call *Dromedaries*, ruminating vpon thoſe meates which they had eaten before, and then drawing them downe againe into their ſtomackes. And we mounting on them, and being refreſhed with new prouiſion, arriued by that deſert to the Roman Garriſons, vpon the tenth day after, & there being preſented to the Tribune, we gaue him an orderly account of what had paſſed. From thence we were ſent ouer to *Sabinus* the Gouernour of *Meſopotamia*, where we receaued a iuſt price for our Camels. And becauſe that Abbot of myne, did now reſt in our Lord, when I was brought to that place, I reſtored my ſelfe to the Monckes, and I deliuered her ouer to the Virgins; louing her as my Siſter, but not truſting my ſelfe with her, as with my Siſter. This ſtory did *Malchus* being ould relate to me,

when

when I was young: and now my ſelfe being ould, I haue deliuered it to you, and I preſent a hiſtory of Chaſtity to chaſt perſons, aduiſing ſuch as are virgins to keep their chaſtity with care. Tell you it ouer to poſterity, to the end that they may know, that in the mideſt of ſwordes, deſerts and wild beaſts, Chaſtity can neuer be captiued; and that a man who is conſecrated to Chriſt, may well be killed, but not conquered.

FINIS